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AMARĀVATĪ, CEYLON, AND THREE
"IMPORTED BRONZES"*

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THREE standing Buddha images cast in metal, of exceptionally early date for the remains in Further India,[1] have been found in Champa, Celebes, and Java (Figs. 11, 13, and 14). These figures have always been mentioned as obvious products of the school of Amarāvatī and dated between the third and the sixth century A.D.[2] Coedés, the great scholar on Further India, has subscribed to this general agreement, but has prudently added the statement that the term "Amarāvatī" does not exclude the possibility of the images coming from Ceylon.[3] Several difficulties are involved in the question. The term "Amarāvatī" has been used by scholars in two different connotations. It may simply define the sculptures from the Great Stūpa at Amarāvatī; or, in its broader meaning, it may comprise all the sculptures from the Veṅgī region which are carved in the same kind of marble and share the same style.[4]

Supposing that the bronzes do belong to the school of Amarāvatī in its broader definition, the date assigned to them (third to sixth century A.D.) is later than that usually accepted for Amarāvatī (second century B.C. to third century A.D.), and their character widely differs from the reliefs and free-standing stone images of this school. The hypothesis of an identity in style between the school of Amarāvatī and the sculptures from Ceylon also offers some difficulties. A chronology of Sinhalese sculptures has never been attempted in a systematic way, and the only accepted distinction is that of the three main periods: (1) Classical, or Anurādhapura (third century B.C. to eighth century A.D.); (2) Early Mediaeval, or Poḷonnāruva (ninth to fourteenth century); (3) Late Mediaeval (fifteenth century to 1815).[5] The monuments from the Anurādhapura period are the only ones in

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1. Except for some of the objects from Oc Eo, which date as early as the second century A.D., the three Buddha images are the earliest examples of Indian sculpture in Further India. (For the excavations at Oc Eo, see *Artibus Asiae*, X, no. 3, 1947, pp. 193-199; XI, no. 4, 1948, pp. 274-284.)

2. These figures will be referred to hereafter by the comprehensive term of "imported bronzes." For the literature on these bronzes, see G. Coedés, *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, Paris, 1948 (Histoire du monde, VIII), pp. 37-39; R. Le May, *A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam*, Cambridge, 1938, p. 16; and *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for 1933*, VIII, p. 35 (to be referred to hereafter as *ABIA*). Good reproductions of the Buddha from Champa are to be found in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole française en Extrême-Orient*, XI, 1911, figs. 42 and 43; XXI, 1921, pl. XI (to be referred to hereafter as *BEFEO*).

3. Coedés, *op.cit.*, p. 38 n. 5: "L'expression art d'Amaravati employée ici et plus loin n'exclut pas la possibilité que ces images du Buddha soient d'origine singhalaise."

4. The main sites in the Veṅgī region, besides Amarāvatī, are Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Goli, Jaggayyapeṭa, and Gummadidurru.

For the bibliography and reproductions of sculptures from these sites, see J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, London, 1887 (Archaeological Survey of India, New Series, VI) (to be referred to hereafter as *Amaravati*); C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum . . .* , Madras, 1942 (which also discusses the inscriptions found on the reliefs, and divides the sculptures into four periods or styles); T. N. Ramachandran, *Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near Goli Village, Guntur District*, Madras, 1929 (Madras, Government Museum, Bulletin, New Series, General Section, I, pt. I); A. H. Longhurst, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunikonda*, Madras, 1938 (Archaeological Survey of India, Memoirs, no. 54); *The Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports*, 1926-27, 1928-29, 1929-30, and 1930-34 (to be referred to hereafter as *ASI*).

5. This chronology is given by A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, 1927 (to be referred to hereafter as Coomaraswamy, *History of Art*). The dates offered by A. M. Hocart in *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G, II, pt. I, p. 78 (to be referred to hereafter as *CJS*), are not much different, though the chronology is broken up into shorter periods. After having stated that no extant monument of Ceylon can be dated in the first period (up to the 1st century B.C.), he divides the monuments in the following order: (1) Archaic art (100 B.C. to A.D. 325); (2) Gupta art (ca. 325 B.C. [sic!] to the fall of Sigiriya, ca. 544 B.C. [sic!]); (3) Gneiss: early gneiss or Pallava (6-7th century A.D.); (4) Classical (8-10/11th century); (5) Archaistic or Polonnaruva (11th to 13th century).

Ceylon that more or less synchronize with Amarāvatī, and it is likely that Coedés had this period in mind when he stated that the term "Amarāvatī" also comprises Ceylon. Coedés, however, did not specify what the connections are between Amarāvatī and Ceylon, an essential point to decide on the provenance of the "imported bronzes." If we agree that the bronzes are datable between the third and the sixth century A.D., we must compare them with examples from Amarāvatī and Ceylon that date in this period. In the actual state of our knowledge such comparison is impossible, because the examples from Amarāvatī postdating the third century A.D. have never been discussed in relation to the earlier school, and the chronology of the Anurādhapura period in Ceylon is even more problematic.

This paper will, therefore, first attempt to establish a chronology of Sinhalese sculpture within the period of Anurādhapura; then it will point out the connections between Ceylon and Amarāvatī and date the late examples from the Veṅgī region; and finally it will consider the question of the provenance and date of the "imported bronzes" in the light of these clarified points.

I

The extant sculptures from the Anurādhapura period in Ceylon are for the most part connected with religious buildings, and their character is exclusively Buddhist. Since the sculptures are associated with buildings whose (at least traditional) date of origin is well known, their chronology seems clear. If, however, we consider the style of the sculptures, we will notice a discrepancy among sculptures connected with the same buildings, and, on the other hand, similarities among sculptures connected with buildings founded in different periods. Two standing Buddhas from the Ruvanvāli tope, for instance, on the basis of their style date in the third and the fourth century A.D., while reliefs from the Abhayagiri, which was founded in the first century B.C., are similar to others from the Jetavana, a building of the fourth century A.D. The reason for this apparent contradiction is found if we consider the source material for the dating of the buildings in Ceylon. Unlike India proper, Ceylon has a wealth of local chronicles which record the dates of erection of its religious buildings: the Mahāvaṃsa, the Dīpavaṃsa, the Thūpavaṃsa. The extant monuments, however, are considerably different from their primitive layout, their shape and dimensions having constantly been changed through additions and restorations up to modern times. The difficulty in the chronology lies in the fact that the sources do not make any distinction between the terms "erection" and "restoration," and are not specific about the part played by the different kings in the modification of the buildings. Thus, although we know the original dates claimed for all the earliest monuments of Ceylon, we cannot determine from the sources alone the dates of the different added parts. An attempt to set up a chronology has been made through the study of the building material, and a broad division has been made between the period of building in brick (up to the seventh or eighth century A.D.) and that of building in stone (after the seventh century A.D.).[6] The same distinction in the use of the materials has been made for sculpture, the earliest period being that in which the soft local limestone was used, while the hard gneiss, more difficult to handle, but less perishable, belongs to a later period.[7]

As the periods determined by the difference in material cover several centuries, and, on the other hand, the local sources offer no clue for a closer dating of the sculptures, we shall turn outside Ceylon for stylistic comparisons, to examples the dates of which have already been established.

6. A further subdivision of the brick period has been attempted, but without any significant result. As it has been established that in India proper the size of the bricks varies according to the time in which they were made, the largest being the earliest, the same system of classification has been attempted in Ceylon. In Ceylon, however, this system does not work, because the size of the bricks was not fixed by a general rule for a definite period, and often earlier bricks were reused in later buildings. For a chronological discussion of the buildings and sculptures of Ceylon and the material of which they were made, see Hocart, *CJS*, II, pt. I, pp. 1-16.

7. *ibid.*

In its early history Ceylon depended culturally, and often also politically, on India, so it is to India that we shall turn for specific comparisons. That Sinhalese art developed under Indian influence is not surprising. Friendly relationships between India and Ceylon were traditional from early times, and we may consider Ceylon in its first period as a kind of outgrowth of India proper. An Indian prince, Vijaya, is supposed to have come from the Ganges valley and settled in the southern part of Ceylon in the fifth century B.C. During the reign of Aśoka, in the third century B.C., a son and a daughter of that king went from India to Ceylon as Buddhist missionaries, and a branch of the Bodhi tree from Bodh Gayā was taken to Anurādhapura. An inscription from the second century B.C. records at Bodh Gayā a donation by a Sinhalese Buddhist.[8] Toward the end of the second century B.C., Ceylon came under Tamil (Southern India) domination. The foreign conquest of Ceylon lasted only a few decades, but the Tamils never relinquished the idea of dominating the island, and waged war on Ceylon again and again during the Mediaeval period, periodically succeeding in subjugating it. But more than through political domination, cultural contacts were established through the spread of Buddhism and through trade. The Mahāvaṃsa, a chronicle of Ceylon compiled in the fifth century A.D., mentions that Sinhalese missionaries spread all over India and reached the farthest regions of that country and Kasmīr.[9] A mission of monks from Ceylon brought Buddha images to China in A.D. 455-459, after having been to India and as far as Afghānistān.[10] One of the southern routes from India to China went through Ceylon, and this route was followed by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hsien on his way back from India to China in the fifth century A.D.[11] In addition, Ceylon became in the first centuries of the Christian era the stronghold of Hinayana Buddhism (Little Vehicle); after that, Mahayana (Great Vehicle, or reformed Buddhism) spread over the north of India. Buddhists from all parts of India from then on came to Ceylon to consult the old texts in their purer form. Given the close relationships between Ceylon and India, it is but natural that Sinhalese art reflected that of India proper, and that both underwent the same changes in style at about the same time. A clue to the chronology of Ceylon will, therefore, be found in the development of art in India proper. With the help of dated examples from India and Afghānistān (which was part of Northern India in the first three centuries A.D., and later, in the Gupta period), we shall try to determine the chronology of Sinhalese sculptures up to the seventh century A.D., narrowing down the time limits of each example to the span of one century or less. We shall end our chronology of Anurādhapura with the sixth century A.D., because none of the three "imported bronzes" from Further India nor the Buddhist sculptures found at Amarāvatī are datable after that century.

No Sinhalese sculpture can be dated before the first century B.C. Useful comparisons with outside schools are limited to the localities of Sāñcī, Amarāvatī, Kaṇherī, and Begram, for the pre-Gupta period. Our chronology will be more tentative for the Gupta period, relatively few examples from this period being known in India, and these not being surely dated.[12]

The dated pre-Gupta examples from India and Afghānistān that we have selected for comparison range from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D. The earliest are the gateways from the Main Stūpa at Sāñcī, dated by an inscription in the second part of the first century B.C.[13]

8. Coomaraswamy, *History of Art*, p. 158.

9. *The Mahavamsa or Great Chronicle of Ceylon*, trans. by W. Geiger, London, 1912, chap. XII, pp. 82-87.

10. A. Soper, "Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China: I, Foreign Images and Artists," *Oriental Art*, II, Summer 1949, p. 8.

11. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1884, I, pp. lxxii-lxxx; P. Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde," *BEFEO*, IV, 1904, pp. 131-413; L. Bachhofer, "Die Anfänge der Buddhistischen Plastik in China," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, X, 1934, pp. 3-15.

12. The term "Gupta art" is here meant to define that particular type of art which flourished in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. The term, applied throughout this paper as a chronological definition, is not limited to Northern and Central India, where the Gupta dynasty held sway, but also comprises the south of India and Ceylon. The most extensive study on Gupta sculpture is given by Coomaraswamy in his *History of Art*, and there he discusses relatively few examples from the fifth century, and almost nothing from the sixth. A monograph on the Gupta period is very much needed.

13. The inscription, quoted by L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, New York, 1929, I, p. 32 mentions that the sculptures of the Southern Gateway at Sāñcī were dedicated by Anamda, overseer of the artisans of the King Srī Sātakarṇi. This king has been identified by Marshall with the Andhra

The sculptures from the Great Stūpa at Amarāvatī have been divided by Sivaramamurti[14] into four styles, dated by inscriptions in the following order: style I (200-100 B.C.); style II (ca. A.D. 100); style III (ca. A.D. 150); and style IV (ca. A.D. 200-250). Most of the Amarāvatī sculptures are in styles III and IV, and to the same period belong the sculptures from other sites in the Vengī region, such as Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Gummadidurru, and Goli.[15]

The date of the figures of donors in the entrance to the *Caitya*-hall at Kaṇherī has been agreed upon as being the second century A.D.[16]

As for the Begram ivories, Ghirshmann has proposed the first to third century A.D.[17]

For the Gupta period, the examples have been selected for the most part from Coomaraswamy's *History of Art*, and the dates are those given by this author.[18]

The earliest example that I know of Sinhalese sculpture is a stone relief in the Colombo Museum, published by Hocart in the *Ceylon Journal of Science*.[19] The stone is much weathered, as is the case for most of the early sculptures from Ceylon, which are carved in soft limestone, but the general forms are still visible. The relief is divided into sections decorated by lotus rosettes and by a panel circumscribing a headless male figure, standing with legs slightly apart. This figure is strongly reminiscent of Sāñcī in the rendering of the relief and in the fleshiness and proportions of the limbs. We may turn for specific comparisons to the figure of a *Yakṣa* from the Western Gate of the Main Stūpa at Sāñcī, reproduced by Foucher,[20] and to a tondo relief from Stūpa II at Sāñcī depicting the image of Srī Devī between two female attendants.[21] The central figure in the tondo is represented in the same archaic stance as in the relief in the Colombo Museum, with feet outwardly splayed, open legs slightly flexed, right arm akimbo and one shoulder higher than the other. As these Sāñcī examples are dated in the latter part of the first century B.C., we may date the Sinhalese example around the same period, or in the beginning of the first century A.D.

Next in time come two stele from the Jetavana (Fig. 1).[22] Their style is obviously earlier than the latter part of the fourth century A.D., the date in which the Jetavana monastery was founded, and they probably belonged to a preexisting building. The history of Ceylon is full of such instances, and this is in no way an exception. The question is how much earlier the stele can be dated. Coomaraswamy tentatively proposed to date them at the beginning of the fourth century A.D.: "ca. 300 A.D.?" The date offered by Smith is earlier, but also more elastic: "The second century of the Christian era, but it is possible that they may be later, or even earlier."[23] As in the case of the first

king of that name who reigned ca. 20-15 B.C. (J. H. Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, Calcutta, 1918, pp. 31ff., and J. H. Marshall, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, Calcutta, 1940). The style of the four gates being more or less uniform, they have all been dated in the latter half of the first century B.C.

14. See note 4.

15. A discussion of the dates will be found in the publications quoted in note 4.

16. Coomaraswamy, *History of Art*, pl. XXXI, fig. 135.

17. R. Ghirshmann, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, Cairo, 1946.

18. Coomaraswamy, *History of Art*, pp. 71-91.

19. *CJS*, II, pt. I, pl. XI, 2.

20. A. Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, II, Paris, 1918, p. 375, fig. 470.

21. A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Iconography: II, Srī Lakṣmī," *Eastern Art*, I, 1929, pl. XXV, fig. 16.

22. Some confusion has arisen in the nomenclature of early Sinhalese buildings—probably owing to a miscalculation in orientation on the part of the first scholars who studied them—and the names of the Jetavana monastery and the Abhayagiri Tope have been interchanged. Smith and Parker still follow the old tradition, as the former, in reproducing two stele from the Jetavana, indicates the Abhayagiri as their place of origin (V. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1911, pl. XX), while the latter calls Jetavana three

stele from the Abhayagiri (H. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, London, 1909, fig. 27, facing p. 310). Coomaraswamy calls attention to the mistake in his *History of Art*, p. 161. The confusion of names would have been less relevant had the buildings been of the same kind and had they belonged to the same period. It so happens, however, that the Abhayagiri is a stūpa founded during the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya (ca. 44-17 B.C.), while the Jetavana is a monastery complex built during the reign of Mahāsena (ca. A.D. 362-389). The confusion is increased by the fact that Smith (*op.cit.*, pls. XX, A,B,C) reproduces three views of the same stele, but mentions for two of them the South Chapel of the Abhayagiri, while for the third he indicates the North Chapel of the same building. In addition, the Jetavana seems to be called also the Eastern Tope by Hocart (in *CJS*, I, pl. XLV, for instance, the figure of a *Nāga* is the same as that reproduced by Smith, *op.cit.*, pl. XXI). To cut short the confusion of names, the Jetavana is identical with the Eastern Tope, and is miscalled the Abhayagiri in the old sources. The Abhayagiri is identical with the Northern Tope, is miscalled the Jetavana in the old sources, and has also been called the Uttara Mahācetiya by S. Paranavitana, *The Stupa of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1947 (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, V).

23. Coomaraswamy, *History of Art*, pl. XCV, fig. 286; Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 88.

example in our chronology, comparisons with Sāñcī reliefs offer a valuable element of dating. The inner side of the left post in the Western Gate of the Main Stūpa at Sāñcī shows a decoration very similar to the stele from the Jetavana in its use of flat relief, the curling elements stemming from a central vertical branch, and the disposition of rampant addorsed animals on each side of the vertical branch (Fig. 2).[24] The Jetavana stele are, however, somewhat later than the Sāñcī relief in view of the simplification and better organization of the elements, the greater freedom in the treatment of animals, and especially in the frontal pose of the lions on the top part of the stele. The overflowing vases at the base of the decoration may be compared with the ones represented in sculptures of Amarāvatī style II (ca. A.D. 100).[25] The way the foliage is treated also compares well with that of Amarāvatī style II, and it is obviously earlier than the more pictorial and fluid rinceaux of Amarāvatī style III (ca. A.D. 150). On the strength of these considerations, the two stele from the Jetavana may be dated in the first century, or at the latest in the first part of the second century A.D.

Two limestone slabs from the pavement of the Eastern Tope at Anurādhapura may be assigned to the same century.[26] The closest example to the spiral volutes of tendrils interspersed with animals represented on these slabs is a Begram ivory carving.[27] Hackin has compared the border decoration of this Begram ivory to Roman sculptures, and it is possible that both the Begram and the Ceylon examples derived from similar Roman originals. The Begram ivory has been dated by Ghirshmann[17] between the first and the third century A.D., and this date seems to hold good also for the Sinhalese example. In the latter case, however, the period may be further narrowed down to the first half of the second century A.D. through comparisons with Amarāvatī sculptures of style II (ca. A.D. 100).[28]

The statue of a Bodhisattva from the Ruvanväli, also called King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī,[29] has been dated by Coomaraswamy "ca. 200 A.D.?" This date may be proved correct through comparisons with the standing figures of donors at the entrance to the Caitya-hall at Kaṇherī,[30] whose date has been established as the second century A.D. In both examples, the proportions of the figures are uncommonly stocky, with short torso, fleshy unbent legs planted solidly on the ground, short neck, long dhotī reaching the ankles, and a straight pleat of drapery between the legs, marked by incised zigzag folds. The figure is also comparable to a standing figure at the left of a relief from Amarāvatī[31] because of the proportions of the body and the drapery between the legs which falls to the ground.[32]

The stocky proportions of the human figure seem to be characteristic in the late second and the third century A.D. in Ceylon. They occur in a number of examples, both in relief and free-standing images. Besides the figures of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and those from the Minnēri Dam already discussed, the same proportions occur in a standing Nāga from the Jetavana,[33] in a standing Buddha from the Ruvanväli,[34] and in a relief from the Eastern Tope, datable in the third century A.D.[35] In the fourth century the canons of proportions seem to fluctuate between the stocky figures, exemplified

24. Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, pl. 57.

25. Sivaramamurti, op.cit., pls. XIX, 3, and XXIII, 1.

26. CJS, II, pt. I, pl. XIII, 1 and 2.

27. J. Hackin, Recherches archéologiques à Bégram, Chantier no. 2 (1937), Paris, 1939, pl. 61, fig. 183.

28. Sivaramamurti, op.cit., pls. XXX and XXXIV, 2. These reliefs show similarities in the treatment of foliage and in the handling of animals.

29. Coomaraswamy, History of Art, pl. XCVII, fig. 294. A better reproduction is given by E. B. Havell, Indian Sculpture and Painting, London, 1908, pl. XII.

30. Coomaraswamy, History of Art, pl. XXXI, fig. 135.

31. ibid., pl. XXXIII, fig. 141.

32. Also to the second century A.D. seem to belong the figures from the Minnēri Dam (CJS, II, pt. I, pl. XIV). Though I have not been able to obtain proper photographs, and though the figures are much damaged, enough can be seen to judge of their style. Their general proportions are strongly reminis-

cent of the statue of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī mentioned above, and they may safely be dated in the same period. A dwarf on a guardstone at the Abhayagiri Cetiya (Smith, op.cit., pl. XXII, B, and CJS, II, pt. I, pl. LXXV) is dated by Smith in the "early centuries of the Christian era." The stocky proportions of the figure in this case have no bearing on the date, as they characterize figures of ganas in all periods. The dwarf may however be dated in the same period as the Nāga in the Jetavana stele (Fig. 6) mentioned above, because of the similarities in the execution of the features. One of the best indications of date is given by the full mouth, with protruding lips parted by a horizontal slit to indicate the opening. In later examples the lips are not so full, and the upper one is given a cutting edge and the shape of a bow with a central point carefully indicated.

33. Smith, op.cit., pl. XXI, A; and CJS, I, pl. XLV, A.

34. Coomaraswamy, History of Art, pl. XCVII, fig. 293.

35. CJS, I, pt. III, pl. XLV, B.

by a seated Buddha in the Colombo Museum, datable in the early fourth century A.D.,[36] and more elongated forms which will finally lead to the Gupta period. The *Nāga* on the Jetavana stele (Fig. 6)[33] may be dated in the late second or early third century A.D. by comparison with a figure from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Fig. 3). Both figures have the same round, expressive head, fleshy bodies rendered in flat relief, and a similar arrangement of the drapery in the *dhotī*. Especially typical is the rendering of the thin gauze of the *dhotī* with a cascade of curved horizontal folds that cover the body from hips to ankles, but are so transparent that they reveal the body as if it were uncovered.

The standing Buddha from the Ruvanvāli is somewhat later.[34] Coomaraswamy dates it "ca. 200 A.D.," which would place the Buddha in the same date tentatively proposed by Coomaraswamy for the statue of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. The Buddha has been pieced together from fragments and I strongly suspect that it has been given the wrong head, while the neck has been made too long (a short neck is characteristic for all the early sculptures of Ceylon as well as for those from Amarāvatī). The Buddha is one of the rare free-standing statues from Ceylon that exactly correspond to the canons of Amarāvatī. It has the blocky torso with hardly any differentiation in the breadth of the shoulders, waist, and hips, and shows a similar hang in the wide loops of the drapery. The depression between the legs is barely visible—another feature that this statue shares with Amarāvatī—and the oblique pleat descending from the left arm to the right calf has a more fluid character than what appears in Sinhalese images of the fourth century A.D. Its similarities with images of Amarāvatī style IV (A.D. 200-250)[37] and its contrast with Sinhalese images of the fourth century A.D. seem to indicate that the figure dates in the third century A.D.[38]

Most of the sculptural remains from Ceylon are reliefs from the frontispieces projecting at the four sides of a stūpa. Their dates are problematic because earlier sculptures were often reused in later buildings, and also because earlier sculptures were imitated in later styles, so that the iconography and general aspect of the reliefs is the same, but the details are widely different. These frontispieces, called *vāhalkaḍas* or *āyakas* in Ceylon, have a rectangular shape, and are divided into horizontal tiers, supported by animal- or gana-brackets, and framed by decorated stele. Only a few of the early *vāhalkaḍas* from Anurādhapura are still well preserved, and in most cases they do not antedate the second century A.D. The two stele from the Jetavana which we have considered as the second example in our chronology are side decorations of *vāhalkaḍas*. All the others date later, as we shall see presently.

Paranavitana[39] has dated the earliest *vāhalkaḍas* from Ceylon in the following order, pointing out that they are in his opinion the earliest examples of sculptures in Ceylon: (1) the Kaṇṭaka Cetiya, second century A.D.; (2) the Mirisavāti, built of granite, and therefore later than the others which are in limestone; and (3) the Abhayagiri or Uttara Mahācetiya, built during the reign of Kaniṭṭha Tissa (A.D. 226-244). Unfortunately it is impossible to keep track of the chronology given by Paranavitana through the examples he reproduces. The legends under the plates merely indicate that they are *vāhalkaḍas* from the Anurādhapura period, without indicating their provenance or date. The illustrations are not discussed in the text, and although some may be identified because they are reproduced elsewhere, they do not originate from the *vāhalkaḍas* dated in his chronology.

Hocart[40] dates the *vāhalkaḍas* of the Ruvanvāli, of the Northern Tope (Abhayagiri), and of the Eastern Tope (Jetavana) all in the same period: "The frontispieces at these three topes are so much

36. *ibid.*, pl. LIII, A.

37. cf. with the standing Buddhas from Amarāvatī, reproduced in *Amaravati*, pl. LII, 1 and 2.

38. Other Buddha statues at the Ruvanvāli, some with no heads, may be compared with this statue and also follow the Amarāvatī style under Gandhāran influence (see F. M. Trautz, *Ceylon*, Munich, 1926, pl. 72). Typical features of this style are the garment covering both shoulders and hanging in stiff folds, the blocky aspect of the figure, and the rigidity of the pose. A second trend in use at Amarāvatī and all-pervasive

in the reliefs is the style under Mathurā influence. This style, unlike that under Gandhāra influence, accentuates the fleshiness and movement of the body, the expressiveness of the features, and leaves one shoulder uncovered in the Buddha figure (also the feet when the figure is seated). Both styles are represented in Sinhalese sculpture through the imitation of Amarāvatī prototypes.

39. Paranavitana, *op.cit.*, pp. 57-58.

40. *CJS*, II, pt. I, p. 4.

alike that they must all be copies of the same original and cannot be far removed from one another in time."[41] An inscription in the pavement in front of the South *vāhalkaḍa* (or *āyaka*) of the Abhayagiri dates the *āyaka* sculptures in the reign of Kaniṭṭha Tissa (ca. A.D. 226-244). It is very likely that the *āyaka* sculptures referred to in the inscription are those of the near-by stele, as suggested by Hocart and Paranavitana,[42] and therefore, if we accept the synchronization of the three *vāhalkaḍas* (Ruvanväli, Abhayagiri, and Eastern Tope) given by Hocart, we may assign them to the third century A.D. I have been unable to find reproductions of the *vāhalkaḍas* from the Ruvanväli (unless this tope is also referred to by a different name), but some of the stele from the Abhayagiri (Northern Tope) and the Jetavana (Eastern Tope) are indeed strikingly similar, which supports the synchronization of Hocart. The several stele from the Abhayagiri and those from the Jetavana date in different periods. The earliest from the Jetavana is the one we have discussed as the second example in our chronology (Fig. 1) and dated in the first, or beginning of the second, century A.D. Another stele from the same building belongs to the early third century, as will be shown presently. A third, which has also a figured panel, is datable in the same period. Others from the same building, which are decorated with vegetal ornaments, follow the style of the second century A.D., but belong to later dates, while some of the figured stele may be dated as late as the Gupta period.[43]

The top part of a stele from the Eastern Tope (Jetavana) represents a Preaching Bodhisattva[44] surrounded by acolytes, and for its style it may be dated in the beginning of the third century A.D. Aside from the similarities with the stele from the Abhayagiri which is dated by the inscription ca. A.D. 230, the panel depends so closely upon examples from Amarāvatī style IV (A.D. 200-250) that it has been supposed to be the work of a sculptor from the Veṅgī region. The surface is damaged, as the stone in which it is carved is the brittle limestone used in the early examples at Ceylon, but the proportions of the figures and the movement are strongly reminiscent of works from Amarāvatī. To give specific examples, we may compare this panel with some reliefs reproduced by Sivaramamurti.[45] The iconography is the same in the Sinhalese and the Amarāvatī examples: a central seated figure surrounded by squatting or standing worshipers and attendants, the whole scene being inscribed into a rectangular panel. The style is also very similar: the central seated figure has the same squat proportions with emphasis upon the fleshy breasts, rounded head, one arm akimbo, and the other in *abhaya mudrā* (warning attitude), legs bent so as to form a low triangle with the apex in the hips. The accessory figures, because of their shape and movement, and their wiry legs which seem too weak to support the fat heavy bodies, are strongly reminiscent of their parallels in the Amarāvatī school.[46]

A guardstone in the Colombo Museum, decorated with a lotus vase, may also be assigned to this period.[47] The vase is similar in shape to that on a Begram ivory reproduced by Hackin.[48] The simi-

41. Hocart here contradicts what he had stated in another passage. In *CJS*, I, pt. III, p. 95, he had dated the Eastern Tope in the fourth century A.D., but stated that the Northern Tope was enlarged in the second, thus dating the two buildings two centuries apart. If Hocart later changed his mind about the dating, he should have stated so and given his reasons. He probably felt the impossibility of dating the *vāhalkaḍas* of the Eastern Tope as a whole before the construction of the tope for which they were meant, and knew that the Abhayagiri was enlarged in the third and not at the end of the second century A.D., as proved by the inscription near one of the *vāhalkaḍas* (dated A.D. 226-244).

42. Hocart, *CJS*, II, pt. I; and Paranavitana, *op.cit.*, p. 59.

43. One stele from the Abhayagiri (Parker, *op.cit.*, fig. 27, facing p. 310, left stele) shows an exuberance in the foliage and a spirited movement in the animals such as is unparalleled in other Sinhalese works. This stele may be slightly earlier than the others in the same tope on account of the similarities with sculptures from Amarāvatī style II (cf. Sivaramamurti, *op.cit.*, pls. XIX, 3, and XXII, 1). Another stele from the Abhayagiri (Parker, *op.cit.*, fig. 27, center) is so strikingly

similar to a stele from the Eastern Tope (Paranavitana, *op.cit.*, pl. IX, B) that the two stele might be taken for the work of the same artist.

44. *CJS*, I, pt. III, pl. XLV, B.

45. Sivaramamurti, *op.cit.*, pls. LXIII, 1 and 2, and LXIV, 3.

46. The standing figures represented on another stele from the Eastern Tope (Paranavitana, *op.cit.*, pl. X, C) obviously belong to the same period as the panel of the Preaching Bodhisattva. The standing figure at the bottom of this stele has the same proportions, posture, and movement as the female figures standing behind the seated Bodhisattva in the panel from the Eastern Tope. A stele published by Paranavitana (*ibid.*, pl. X, B) without any indication of provenance has elements which recall both the stele from the Jetavana and those from Abhayagiri, but it is datable slightly later than any of these examples on account of the greater elongation of the bodies of animals. It may be dated around the end of the third century A.D.

47. *CJS*, II, pt. I, pl. XII, fig. 1.

48. Hackin, *op.cit.*, pl. XXVIII.

larities extend to such details as the knotted ribbon around the body of the vase, and the line of demarcation between the body and the neck of the vase. It is likely that the example from Ceylon derived from the Begram ivory or the like, though it has changed some details of the original: the knotted ribbons with hanging ends in the middle of the body have been transformed into crossed ribbons fastened by a round medallion, and the line at the base of the neck has become a thick ring. The vase from Ceylon may also be compared with a vase from Amarāvatī style II (ca. A.D. 100),[49] though it is squatter in shape, stiffer in the stem of the flowers, and it has misunderstood the vegetal filling element originating from the base of the vase. The pearled motif around the edge of the guardstone is a decorative element favored by sculptures of Amarāvatī style IV (A.D. 200-250). For all these reasons it seems likely that the guardstone belongs to the third century A.D. Other guardstones, decorated with overflowing vases, have been reproduced in the *Ceylon Journal of Science*, but though they are similar in iconography, they seem to date later.

While discussing the upper part of a stele from the Eastern Tope, the panel with the Preaching Bodhisattva,[44] we noticed the strong influence from Amarāvatī. Such influence is tempered in the lower part of that stele by a diluted residue of the Sāñcī style. Other sculptures were found in Ceylon, the character of which is totally in the Amarāvatī style. Some of these sculptures were carved of the local brittle stone from Ceylon, while others were carved of the smooth limestone of the Veṅgī region. The first category, being by reason of the quality of its material an obvious product of Ceylon and belonging in style to the Amarāvatī school, has been supposed to be the work of Amarāvatī sculptors who migrated into Ceylon. The second category, in which both material and style are of the Amarāvatī school, has been spoken of as a direct importation from the Veṅgī region. The presence of Amarāvatī works and workmen in Ceylon was supposed to be the cause of the flourishing state of sculpture on the island, and these works were believed to be the earliest examples of sculpture in Ceylon. This theory is disproved by the presence of the earlier sculptures which we have discussed above. Their technical perfection and variety of invention bespeak a flourishing period of Sinhalese sculpture as early as the first centuries of the Christian era. The presence in Ceylon of works in the Amarāvatī style datable in the end of the third century A.D. is explainable by the political situation in the Veṅgī region during the late third and the following centuries. A rapid review of the history of the late Andhra kings will help to explain the situation.[50]

In the beginning of the third century A.D., the dynasty of the Later Sātavāhanas was succeeded by the dynasty of the Ikṣvākus, whose most important kings were Siri-Cāṁtamūla and Vīrapuri-sadāta. These kings did not have the power of their predecessors, and allowed petty local rulers gradually to take the upper hand. Both the Ikṣvākus kings and the local rulers who succeeded them favored Hinduism, and although Buddhism still lingered in the Veṅgī region until the seventh century A.D., it no longer was the dominant religion and underwent a rapid decline. From the fourth to the seventh century A.D. the Veṅgī region was a constant theater of wars. Internal struggles weakened the power of the Andhra kings, and the ambition of outside rulers who wanted to enlarge their domains to the detriment of the Andhras made the situation even worse. The final blow to the Andhra kingdom was dealt in the fourth century by the Gupta conquest in the north, during the reign of Samudragupta who in A.D. 380 extended his territory down to the Kistna river, and by the Pallavas who from the south contested the supreme power of the Guptas. The Pallavas finally obtained supremacy in Southern India, the apex of their ascendancy being in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. The political disorders in the Veṅgī region reduced the country to a state of utter desolation. The active emporium of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, which in the first three centuries of the Christian era had been one of the leading trading ports on the east coast of India, was gradually abandoned, the once flourishing monasteries were deserted, the fertile plains became marshy, and

49. Sivaramamurti, *op.cit.*, pl. XXIII.
50. For an extensive discussion of the Andhra history, see

K. Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, University of Madras, 1941.

the few travelers who ventured to cross the country needed armed escorts against the bands of robbers who infested the region. The decadence of Buddhism and the state of desolation of the country are described by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hsien in the fifth century A.D. Although he did not visit the Veṅgī region in person, he gave an account of what he knew about it by hearsay: "This land is barren and without inhabitants. At a considerable distance from the hill there are villages, but all of them are inhabited by heretics. They know nothing of the law of the Buddha, or Sramanas, or Bramanas, or of any of the different schools of learning."[51] The situation was even worse at the time of the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, in the seventh century A.D.: "The place has become deserted and wild, with no priests to dwell there. . . ."[52] In the second and third centuries A.D., during the flourishing period of the Veṅgī region, the relations between this country and Ceylon had been very friendly. Sinhalese monks and nuns had founded monasteries at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, and had taken an active part in the religious life of the country.[53] It is natural, therefore, that when trouble began in the Veṅgī region, the relatively quiet island of Ceylon was sought as a refuge. Small sculptures, the more easily transportable, were taken along by the faithful, and workmen trained in the Amarāvatī school came among the emigrants and practiced their art in their newly chosen country.

The sculptures from Amarāvatī found in Ceylon belong to different periods. The earliest is a relief in the Colombo Museum, of uncertain iconography, which has been tentatively called the Miracle of Srāvastī.[54] The shape of the figures, the headdresses with a lateral knob, the three-quarter pose of the figures seen from the back, the type of loincloth used by the men and the particular way it is worn, and the shape and design of the footstools place this sculpture in Amarāvatī style III (ca. A.D. 150). The technique of the relief is also the same, with deep undercutting like that of Amarāvatī style III. A comparison with some examples from Amarāvatī will prove their obvious formal relationships.[55]

The relief called the "Annunciation,"[56] also in the Colombo Museum, gives an iconography frequently repeated at Amarāvatī. The style of the sculptures bespeaks a later period than the Miracle of Srāvastī on account of the slenderer proportions of the bodies, the slim hips, and elongated arms and legs. The relief is flatter than is usual in the Amarāvatī school, and the movement is more mannered and restrained. The heavy jeweled belts worn by the women, and such details as the large protruding globe of the eye, and the lid half-covering the eyeball, point to the late Amarāvatī style IV (ca. A.D. 250). The shell-like pleat coming down from the high-placed belt, in the reclining figure of Maya, is a characteristic found in two reliefs from Amarāvatī style IV.[57] The "Annunciation" in the Colombo Museum is inferior in quality to the other reliefs from the Veṅgī region, and above all lacks the elegance of the sculptures from Amarāvatī. It may be a late product of that school, or more likely the work of an inferior artist.

Two sides of a pillar from the Northern Tope at Anurādhapura, carved in the local limestone of Ceylon, are decorated with panels which strongly recall Amarāvatī style IV (Fig. 7).[58] The display of happy couples in single panels, and their frame of slender columns with bulbous bases and capitals, besides the fact that the silhouettes of the figures show the same elongation and flexed poses, are indicative of contacts with Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[59]

Another relief, found at Girihaṇḍuvihāra, Ambalantoṭa, in the south of Ceylon, has been published by the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* as an Andhra sculpture.[60] The material in which it is carved is apparently the fine limestone from the Veṅgī region, but the style is totally

51. Beal, *op.cit.*, I, p. lxix; and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India from Megasthenes to Ma Huan*, University of Madras, 1939, pp. 66-67.

52. Beal, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 221-227.

53. See notes 78 and 79.   54. *CJS*, I, pl. XLIII.

55. Sivaramamurti, *op.cit.*, pls. XXVIII and XXXI.

56. Actually, it is the Dream of Maya. For reproductions,

consult *CJS*, I, pl. XLII; and *ABIA for 1936*, XI, pl. VII, a.

57. Sivaramamurti, *op.cit.*, pls. LXI, 2, and LXIII, 1 (figure to right of top panel).

58. *CJS*, I, pl. XLIV, 1 and 2.

59. See, for instance, a relief published by Longhurst, *op.cit.*, pl. XXIX, a.

60. *ABIA for 1936*, XI, pl. VII, c.

different from the Amarāvatī school. The iconography has not been interpreted. I think that it is the Buddha leaving his horse and groom after his departure from Kapilavastu, while deities come to worship him and bring him his alms-bowl. The great disproportion between the figure of the Buddha and his acolytes; the canons which regulate the proportions of the human figure, the heads and torsos being very large in comparison with the rest of the body; the transparent unpleated garment that clings to the body; the hairdo of the Buddha and the high headdress of the acolyte to his left; the pictorial treatment of the clouds—all these factors place the relief in the advanced Gupta period or even in the Pallava period. The position of the legs of the three acolytes and the high conical diadem of the one at the lower left recall figures from Māmallapuram, while the central figure of the Buddha vaguely recalls some of the bronze Buddha statuettes from Buddhavani.[61]

A passage in style from the second and third century examples of the Amarāvatī school just examined to the fourth century figures in Ceylon is shown by a headless seated Buddha in the Colombo Museum (Fig. 5). Hocart has reproduced it, saying that he did not know exactly how to place it, but that it surely antedated the vast amount of Ceylon Buddhas.[62] This statement probably means that the Buddha antedates the eighth century A.D. In my opinion, the seated Buddha is comparable to late examples from Amarāvatī style IV, and is datable in the third or early fourth century A.D. If we compare it, for instance, with the seated Buddhas in a panel from Amarāvatī (Fig. 4), the central Amarāvatī figure has the same proportions as the Sinhalese Buddha, a similar disposition of the folds in the drapery, and even shows the peculiar wide loop which falls from the right arm and the vertical parallel folds that cover the leg but leave the foot bare.[63] A detail worth mentioning, shared by the Amarāvatī relief as well as by the Ceylon Buddha, is that the drapery, turning under the left arm of the figure, leaves the breast uncovered, and then turns back in a loop over the top of the uncovered shoulder.[64] The Ceylon and Amarāvatī Buddhas considered above differ in their attitude, the *abhaya mudrā* (warning attitude) being depicted in the one at Amarāvatī, while the seated Buddha in the Colombo Museum is in the *dhyāna mudrā* (meditating attitude); a slight difference in style is revealed in the more fleshy appearance of the legs and foot in the Sinhalese example, but, aside from these minor differences of detail, the example from Ceylon seems to follow closely the Amarāvatī style.

To a period immediately preceding the Gupta belong a limestone torso of a Buddha in the Colombo Museum (Fig. 12) and a standing Buddha from the Ruvanväli.[65] Of the two, I think that the torso is the earlier, as can be seen by the heavier character of the pleat that cuts diagonally from the right arm to the left ankle, by the massive body which shines less through the garment, and also by the absence of the belt line cutting the flesh. In other features, such as the deep depression between the legs and the thick net of parallel folds that tightly fit the body, these figures belong to the advanced fourth century A.D. The head of the Ruvanväli Buddha shows a mellowness in expression and a sharpness in the edges of the lips and eyebrows which were foreign to previous examples (contrast it, for instance, with the standing figure of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, also from the Ruvanväli), but which are characteristic in the Gupta period. The eyes were originally inlaid, as in many other sculptures from Ceylon, but have now only empty sockets.

The reliefs from the fourth century A.D. are mostly imitations of earlier ones. A stele at the Jetavana[66] has figures of a standing *Nāga* and *Nāginī*, one on top of the other, which in their posi-

61. R. Sewell, "Some Buddhist Bronzes and Relics of Buddha," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for 1895*, pl. I, figs. 2-4.

62. *CJS*, I, pt. III, p. 96.

63. Another Buddha from Amarāvatī, a seated statue carved out of green marble, belongs to the same style and period. It was exhibited in 1950 at the Los Angeles Museum in loan from C. T. Loo, Inc., of New York. The catalogue of the exhibition dates this statue between the second and the third century A.D. and indicates that "the sculpture reflects the style

of the Mathurā school in the north" (Los Angeles County Museum, *The Art of Greater India: 3000 B.C.-1800 A.D.*, March 1 to April 16, 1950, fig. 34).

64. This motif traveled eastward and reached China, where it appeared in the fifth century at Yün-Kang, Cave 22 (O. Sirén, *La sculpture chinoise du Vᵉ au XVᵉ siècle*, I, Paris, 1925, pl. 53).

65. W. Cohn, *Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens*, Leipzig, 1925, fig. 23.

66. Paranavitana, *op.cit.*, pl. IX, A.

tion and general aspect recall the ones on the North stele, also in the Jetavana, reproduced by Smith,[67] but they are inferior in quality and stiffer and more mannered in their attitudes. Their lateness is revealed by their tightly fitting transparent *dhotī*, which in its unwrinkled surface follows the ideals of the Sarnath school during the Gupta period.[68]

The isolation of elements characteristic of the pre-Gupta and early Gupta period is present in the "moonstone" from the so-called Queen's pavilion at Anurādhapura.[69] The tiers of animals are pedantically alternated with vegetal motifs, and the creepers stretch their loops in perfect curves which try to make up in clarity for what they lack in inspiration. The "moonstones" are, together with the *vāhalkaḍas*, the most distinctive features of Sinhalese sculpture. They consist of semi-circular carved stones placed under the lowest step of a staircase which leads to a *stūpa*. Both the moonstones and the *vāhalkaḍas* seem to have been introduced in Ceylon from the Veṅgī region, but Ceylon modified them considerably and made them one of the chief elements in the decoration of a stūpa. The *vāhalkaḍas* of the Amarāvatī school, called *āyakas* in the Veṅgī region, unlike the Sinhalese *āyakas* lack the differentiation in tiers, and are instead surmounted by a group of five columns. The moonstones at Amarāvatī are plain, or at best they are decorated with lotus petals,[70] while in Ceylon they become a pretext for the artist to display his ability as a sculptor. The decoration of the moonstones from Anurādhapura consists for the most part of rinceaux and tiers of animals, and because of this division in concentric rows they recall the ceiling decorations of Cave II at Ajaṇṭā, though they lack the richness in inspiration of the Ajaṇṭā paintings.[71] The animals represented on the moonstones from Ceylon are the four animals symbolic of the cardinal points (lion, horse, elephant, and bull), and the *haṃsa*, the sacred bird.

The sculptures from the fifth and sixth century A.D. in Ceylon conform to the ideals of Gupta art in Northern India. The faces have the idealized beauty of their sisters from Mathurā and Sarnath, they are devoid of emotion, and action is eliminated as far as possible in favor of a timeless, static posture. The image is thus transformed from an idealized human being into an icon. The canons which regulate the proportions of the body are small heads, broad shoulders, narrow waists, slightly curving hips, extremely elongated limbs. The details of the face show sharp edges, and the eyes are rendered as if heavy with sleep, the lids totally or almost covering the eyeball. This art is extremely refined and elegant; the figures are generally elongated, with tapering hands, and very elaborate ornaments on Bodhisattva and lay figures. The presence of Gupta features leads me to place in the fifth century A.D. the gigantic statue of a seated Buddha from a forest near Anurādhapura, dated by Coomaraswamy in the third or fourth century A.D.[72] Its head may be compared with that of a standing Buddha from Mathurā dated by Coomaraswamy in the fifth century and reproduced by him on plate XL, figure 158, of his *History of Art* (to quote only one instance).

67. Smith, *op.cit.*, pl. XX.

68. The stele from the *vāhalkaḍas* at the Mirisavāti are carved in hard gneiss, a material used only from the fourth century A.D. onward, and greatly favored during the period from the sixth to the ninth century. Both Hocart and Paranavitana agree that the *vāhalkaḍas* from the Mirisavāti are later than others from Anurādhapura, but they do not specify their date. The elements used in the decoration are similar to those from the Jetavana and the Northern Tope, but a crystallization of the design into small units, the lack of spontaneity and fluidity, and the squat shape of the over-flowing vase at the base of the decoration date the stele in a period immediately preceding the Gupta.

69. *CJS*, I, pt. II, pl. LII, B; Coomaraswamy, *History of Art*, pl. XCV, fig. 288.

70. Fragments of moonstones were found in the Veṅgī region at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and representations of moonstones are seen in the casing slabs of the Main Stūpa at Amarāvatī.

71. G. Yazdani, *Ajanta . . .* , Oxford, 1936, II, pl. XXVI. The same division into concentric rows is seen on a stone umbrella from Sarnath which dates in the Kushan period (see *ASI*, 1904-5, pl. XXVII). It was once placed over the

Bodhisattva statue dedicated by Friar Bala in the third year of King Kaniśka, and is likely to be contemporary with the statue. In the Sarnath example, the animal decoration is limited to lions and paired fish. The use in the moonstones of the four animals symbolic of the cardinal points goes as far back as the Maurya period. A number of pillars crowned with any one of these four animals have been preserved from the reign of Aśoka, and in one instance, a capital from Sarnath, the four animals are in relief and alternated as in the case of the Sinhalese moonstone. A cursory glance at the two examples, however, will show that the Sinhalese moonstone is stylistically inferior. The flat and stylized animals on it have none of the swiftness and vitality of the Maurya ones, nor do they show the sensitive handling of the surface and gradation of tones in the shadowing. They are mere imitations of earlier examples used in the stūpa decoration as a conventional iconography. They have a place in the moonstone on account of their symbolic implications, as they indicate by their presence the spread of the Buddhist faith over the four parts of the world.

72. Coomaraswamy, *History of Art*, pl. XCVIII, fig. 295.

The bronze Buddha from Badullā, now in the Colombo Museum, dated by Coomaraswamy in the fifth or sixth century A.D.,[73] may belong to the same period as the gigantic granite Buddha. The bronze Buddha still follows the earlier canons in the drapery that covers the body with a set of thickly placed parallel folds. Its staring eye is also an imitation of earlier figures, while the regular rows of small curls which form a point on the forehead are later characteristics and place the figure in the same period as the granite figure mentioned above.[74]

Hocart, commenting on the seated couple from Isurumuniya, wondered why the products of Gupta art were so scarce in Ceylon. The reason is that he attributed to this period only two examples. In our chronology, the number of Gupta sculptures is conspicuous. To the examples that we have already discussed we may add three more before concluding our chronology. The seated couple from Isurumuniya belongs to the advanced Gupta period (Fig. 8), and recalls the sixth century representations of the Kṛṣṇa legend at Paharpur in Bengal,[75] where the style agrees even to the peculiar rendering of the falling folds and sharp features of the figures, not to mention the proportions of the figures, the headdress, and the heavy jewelry (Fig. 9).

A head of Maitreya, dated by Coomaraswamy in the fourth century A.D.,[76] must belong instead to the sixth or seventh century on account of the high cylindrical headdress with crossed loops around the top part, and the row of curls on the forehead. This type of headdress does not appear before the advanced Gupta period in India, and is favored in Java in the eighth or ninth century A.D.[77]

In the same period may be dated a bronze seated Buddha in the Colombo Museum (Fig. 16). The thickly set folds are an imitation of earlier images, but they hang in a more stylized way, a vertical pleat descending from the right shoulder to the right hand (the Buddha is in the *dhyāna mudrā* or meditating attitude). From this pleat start oblique folds which cross the body with parallel curves, while the folds on the arm follow an opposite direction. The body has the fleshiness and long narrow waist of the granite Buddha from Anurādhapura. The lowered lids cover the eye, the nose is given a sharply cutting edge, the mouth is small and pinched, and the hair has lost the orderly disposition of the curls. The garment clings to the torso, showing the details of the body, such as the fleshiness of the stomach and the cutting line of the belt. On the basis of these considerations this bronze figure does not antedate the sixth century A.D.

II

Now that we have established a chronology of the Anurādhapura period, it is possible to compare the Sinhalese sculptures with those of the Amarāvatī school, and to decide whether or not they are the same in style. The examples discussed above make it clear that influences from Amarāvatī were present in Ceylon from the beginning of the second century A.D., and that they became stronger toward the end of that century or the beginning of the third. Comparisons with specific examples

73. *ibid.*, pl. XCIX, fig. 295.
74. A relief from the Eastern Tope (*CJS*, II, pt. I, pl. X, fig. 1) may also be assigned to the fifth century A.D. The stone is much weathered and the figure is difficult to make out, but the body shows the narrow waist, broad shoulders, and refinement in the limbs characteristic of the Gupta period. Its head is similar in shape and headdress to the head of a Bodhisattva from the Thuparama, assigned by Hocart to the "Archaic period" (100 B.C. to A.D. 325), and dated by Coomaraswamy in the fourth century A.D. (*History of Art*, pl. XCVI, fig. 289). This Bodhisattva head belongs to the Gupta period, or very near it, on account of its sweet expression, half-closed eyes, and elaborate headdress. A similar but more elaborate headdress is worn by a standing figure on a stele reproduced by Paranavitana without indication of provenance (*op.cit.*, pl. IX, c). The figure belongs to the Gupta period on account of the ribbon-like pleats of the garments and the elegance of the tapering hands. The *Nāga* on a guardstone from Anurādha-

pura, now in the Colombo Museum (*ibid.*, pl. X, fig. 2), must belong to the sixth or seventh century, if not later, because of the high conical headdress with lateral wings, and the bands of belts disposed in parallel tiers around the hips. The stone, however, is too much weathered to allow stylistic analysis.
75. *ASI*, 1926-27, pl. XXXII, a and c.
76. Coomaraswamy, *History of Art*, pl. XCVI, fig. 290.
77. Similar headdresses are worn by divinities from Java. See, for instance, two statuettes of Siva and Parvati from the Dieng plateau, datable around the eighth or ninth century A.D. (N. J. Krom, *L'art javanais dans les musées de Hollande et de Java*, Paris, 1926, pl. V), and a figure of Siva on Nandi (*ibid.*, pl. III). This high type of headdress is present in India at Kaṇherī, in the Avalokiteśvara Litanies which date in the Gupta period (Coomaraswamy, *op.cit.*, pl. XLIII, fig. 164), and in the sixth representation of Ardhanari (J. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archéologie du sud de l'Inde*, Paris, 1914, II, pl. III, B).

1. Sculptured stele at the
Jetavana, Anurādhapura

2. Pillar from the Western Gate
at Sāñcī

3. *Nāga* from
Nāgārjunakoṇḍa

4. Jamb from Amarāvatī

5. Seated Buddha, Colombo Museum

6. *Nāga* from the Eastern Tope,
Anurādhapura

7. Pillar from the Northern Tope, Anurādhapura

8. Couple from Isurumuniya, Anurādhapura

9. Kṛṣṇa scene from Paharpur, Bengal

10. Bronze torso of a Buddha from Amarāvatī

11. Buddha from Champa

from Amarāvatī prove, however, that the sculptures from Ceylon should not be confused with those from the Veṅgī region. Single elements are the same, such as the proportions of the body or the decorative details, but the style of the sculptures as a whole is clearly distinct. To begin with, the reliefs from Ceylon are more restrained in their movement, the features less expressive, more dreamy, and the compositions less crowded. Ceylon favors single standing figures inscribed in panels, or vegetal motifs interspersed with animals. In Amarāvatī it is rare to find a single figure forming a composition *per se*, and the vegetal motifs are subordinated to figured panels. The character of the Amarāvatī sculptures is essentially narrative, and architectural settings are preferred to vegetal ornaments. Even in the reliefs where the Amarāvatī influence is strongest, the Sinhalese examples are always easily distinguishable. The Preaching Bodhisattva from the Eastern Tope,[44] which we discussed above, is distinguishable from any Amarāvatī sculpture by its figures, immobilized in their movement and arranged with balanced symmetry around the central larger figure. The pillar from the Northern Tope decorated with happy couples (Fig. 7) is easily recognizable from corresponding instances at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa; the happy couple in the Amarāvatī school is only an incident which serves the purpose of resting the eye and separating two episodes. In Ceylon it is a composition in itself, an end, not a means. In spite of these differences, however, the similarities are striking and prove the strong connections between Ceylon and the Veṅgī region in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Aside from the stylistic grounds, such connections are documented by inscriptions found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, and by Buddhist texts. The inscriptions record the foundation of a *vihāra* by a Sinhalese Buddhist (*Sīhaḷa-Vihāra*, mentioned in inscription F from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa), and the presence of an apsidal temple (*Cetiya-ghara*) on the Nāharāḷḷabōḍu hill at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, dedicated to *theris* (nuns) from Ceylon.[78] Religious contacts between the Veṅgī region and Ceylon are further witnessed to by Buddhist texts which mention that Arayadeva, disciple of Nāgārjuna (who probably lived in the third century A.D.), was a native of Ceylon, but spent the greater part of his life in India proper.[79]

After the end of the third century A.D., the contacts between the Veṅgī region and Ceylon are more difficult to establish. Few remains have been found in the Veṅgī region which may be dated after the third century A.D., and those are for the most part of a style different from the sculptures of the Amarāvatī school of the second and third century. Two marble reliefs—a standing Buddha found at Jaggayyapeṭa[80] and a seated Buddha from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[81]—may be dated in the Gupta period. Their proportions and the type of drapery assign these figures to the Gupta period, but otherwise they are inferior imitations of earlier examples. Two groups of bronze figures[82] also found in the Veṅgī region follow, instead, the style of Northern India during the Gupta period. This is, I think, the reason why they have been neglected by scholars who studied the earlier Amarāvatī school. The figures are interesting for this paper because they are indicative of the style current at Amarāvatī during the Gupta period. The first group of statuettes was found by Rea not far from the Main Stūpa at Amarāvatī, and dated by him in the same period as the sculptures from that stūpa, that is, the second and third century A.D. This date is disproved by the style of the statuettes, which is definitely later than the third century A.D. The other group was found at Buddhapad (or Buddhavani) in the Kistna District, and published by Sewell. The group from Buddhapad was mentioned later by Smith,[83] who dated it in the fifth or sixth century A.D. (Sewell had

78. J. Ph. Vogel, "Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist Site at Nagarjunikonda," *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, no. 1, 1929, pp. 9-10.

79. Gopalachari, *op.cit.*, p. 146. The Tibetan writer Tāranātha places Nāgārjuna in Southern India, and some scholars have supposed that the name Nāgārjunakoṇḍa records the stay of Nāgārjuna in Southern India. There is, however, no proof of it in extant inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. An inscription from Jaggayyapeṭa, on the other hand, dated

palaeographically in the seventh century A.D., mentions a follower of a pupil of Nāgārjuna (*ibid.*, pp. 125-126, n. 8).

80. Burgess, *op.cit.*, p. 111, and pl. LV, 5, inscribed in characters of ca. A.D. 600.

81. *ASI*, 1929-30, pl. 38, A.

82. *ASI*, 1908-9, pl. XXVIII; and R. Sewell, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 617-637.

83. Smith, *op.cit.*, pp. 179-180.

dated it between 250 B.C. and A.D. 650: no doubt he kept a broad margin!). The two groups—with the exception of two instances—are exponents of the same style and may be dated in the Gupta period. The figures are slender, with big heads and the upper part of the body disproportionately large. The drapery has the smooth unwrinkled surface which characterizes the school of Sarnath during the Gupta period. Two standing Buddhas from the Buddhapad group may be compared with a bronze Buddha in the Boston Museum, dated by Coomaraswamy in the fifth century A.D.[84] One bronze torso from the Amarāvatī group (Fig. 10) antedates the rest of the statuettes and differs from the other figures both in the style of the drapery and in the proportions of the body. The drapery is pleated and follows the curves of the body in its outline, but does not reveal the flesh. The proportions are stockier than the other bronze statues, but slenderer than is usual in the stone images of the third century A.D. in Amarāvatī. For these reasons the figure seems to be datable in the fourth century A.D. This date is further supported by a comparison of this figure and the fourth century stone torso of a Buddha in the Colombo Museum (Fig. 12). The proportions are so strikingly similar that one would be tempted to attribute the two examples to the same school, were it not for the tighter set of folds and less fluid lines in the Sinhalese example. If compared with earlier sculptures from Amarāvatī, the proportions are slenderer, the folds are more fluid, and the right arm, covered by the drapery, is set at an angle from the body and no longer bent over the chest. The fleshy body is treated with great sensitiveness and the thin gauze of the drapery hangs in soft draped folds. The whole trend is toward a greater elegance and mellowness than is customary in the third century examples from Amarāvatī. These differences are probably due to the discrepancy in date as well as to the differences in material. Aside from the fact that it was found at Amarāvatī, the bronze torso belongs to this school for its style. The elements of Mathurā and Gandhāra which were present at Amarāvatī in a separate form during the second and third century A.D. have been fused together and integrated into a new style. The torso has the ridged wide-spaced folds of the Gandhāra trend, and the articulated parts of the body, expression, and movement particular to the Mathurā trend at Amarāvatī. The fusion of these elements is achieved so well in the bronze torso that one forgets the composing elements to admire the poise and elegance of the figure. If, however, one analyzes the details, the torso will recall the *Nāga* figure in the stone relief from Nagār-junakoṇḍa which we have mentioned above (Fig. 3): the disposition of the folds in widely spaced loops, the fleshiness of the body, with the particular swelling of the hips and articulation of the legs visible in spite of the stiffly frontal pose of the bronze statuette. These qualities contrast with the closely spaced and stiff folds, the rigidity of the pose, and the columnar treatment of the limbs in the stone torso in the Colombo Museum (Fig. 12). In the Sinhalese example the waist is not articulated, the hips widen gradually from the body and are grooved by the deep indentations of the folds. The proportions are more massive than in the bronze torso from Amarāvatī, but the figure is more stylized. We find in the bronze torso from Amarāvatī and in the stone one from Ceylon the similarities and differences that we had observed in sculptures from these two schools during the second and third centuries A.D.

The Amarāvatī torso is the only late example from the Veṅgī region which may be connected with the three "imported bronzes" from Further India, and the question arises on what grounds these bronzes were attributed to the Amarāvatī school. Aside from the fact that this bronze was never mentioned to support the attribution, it is unlikely that the attribution was made on account of this torso alone. On the other hand, the later bronzes from Amarāvatī and Buddhapad are representative of a different style and have never been mentioned when the attribution of the "imported bronzes" to Amarāvatī was brought up. The only alternative is that the "imported bronzes" were considered a later development of the third century style of Amarāvatī. Their more advanced character prevented the use of stone sculptures for comparisons, and this is probably the reason

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84. Coomaraswamy, *History of Art*, pl. XL, fig. 159.

why no specific example was ever used to prove the Indian workmanship of the statuettes. Coedés, who was aware of the similarities between Ceylon and Amarāvatī, but realized that an attribution of the bronzes to Ceylon would involve a revision of the latter's chronology, sought to avoid the issue, identifying Ceylon with the school of Amarāvatī. Now that we have followed the development of both schools, our orientation will be easier.

III

The presence in Further India of works of art from Southern India or Ceylon is not surprising, given the active commercial and religious intercourse among these countries. The excavations at Oc Eo in Siam have brought to light, together with Roman and Chinese objects, a number of Indian works datable as early as the second century A.D.,[85] and archaeological research has shown the presence of Indian elements, both in sculpture and architecture, in various sites of Further India.[86] In addition, local sources from Further India, and Chinese texts, mention the borrowing of images of especial veneration from India and Ceylon.[87] That the three images from Champa, Java, and Celebes are "Indian" imports there is no doubt, but it remains to be determined where they come from.

A study of their style will allow us to place the figures and determine their dates. Some general similarities connect the images with each other, but differences of detail prove that they do not belong to the same period or school. The Buddha from Champa (Fig. 11) shares with the one from Java (Fig. 14) the pleated drapery, and with the one from Celebes (Fig. 13) the full-fleshed body and the vertical hang of the drapery on the back. All three have the right hand upheld at the height of the chest, the right arm enveloped in the drapery which forms a deep groove below the arms, and the left shoulder uncovered. In addition, they are all standing figures and have broad drooping shoulders. Their general character might place them in the Amarāvatī school (exemplified by the bronze torso from Amarāvatī; Fig. 10), as well as in Ceylon (in the style represented by the stone torso in the Colombo Museum; Fig. 12). We have seen the strong contacts between the two schools in the fourth century A.D., and these similarities might at a superficial glance be taken for an identity of style. Close examination proves, however, that the Amarāvatī examples are always more characterized, and show a greater fluidity in the lines of the drapery and greater freedom in the stance of the body. The same close examination when applied to the "imported bronzes" will reveal that the Buddha from Champa belongs to the Amarāvatī school, while the Buddhas from Java and Celebes originate from Ceylon. As for their dates, the Champa Buddha belongs to the fourth century A.D., the Celebes one to the early fifth century, and the Java one to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth.

Let us first examine their heads. The proportions in the three examples are different, the Celebes Buddha having a rounder head, while the Java one is elongated. The shape of the head, however, is only indicative of individual differentiations, not of differences of school. What betrays their different origin is the expression on the face. We have noticed that the sculptures from Amarāvatī always have more expressive features than their Sinhalese counterparts. This is true in the second and third century as well as in the Gupta period. It will be enough to compare an example from Amarāvatī style III or IV and the head of Dutthagāmaṇī from the Ruvanvāli Tope in Ceylon, for the earlier periods, or the heads from Buddhapad in the Veṅgī region and the heads of a Bodhisattva from the Thuparama in Ceylon, for the Gupta period, to be aware of the strong differences. Unfortunately the head of the Amarāvatī bronze Buddha from the fourth century A.D. is missing, and no

85. *Artibus Asiae*, X, no. 3, 1947, pp. 193-199; XI, no. 4, 1948, pp. 274-284.

86. C. Coedés, "Excavations at P'ong Tük in Siam," *ABIA for 1927*, Leiden, 1929, pp. 16-20; Coedés, "Indian Influ-

ences upon Siamese Art," *Indian Art and Letters*, New Series, IV, 1930, pp. 18-41; Coedés, *Les états hindouisés*, passim; etc.

87. Coedés, *Les états hindouisés*, passim; Soper, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

head from that century has yet been found in the Veṅgī region, so it is impossible to check on the features of that school in the fourth century A.D. It is likely, however, that Amarāvatī followed in the fourth century the same trend of characterization that may be observed in the third and the fifth centuries. If we compare the three heads from Further India, we shall notice the more "classical" appearance of the features in the Champa Buddha, and its greater expressiveness. All three Buddhas are smiling, but only in the Champa one does the whole face partake of the smile and become animated by it. In the other two the smile is localized in the region around the mouth. This feature is general in Ceylon, where one need only cover the mouth of a statue to get a grave or empty expression. In the Champa Buddha the smile is conveyed not only by the mouth, but also by the eyes and the contraction of the muscles in the cheek. In addition, the Champa Buddha is the only one of the three images in which the *ūrṇā* (mark between the eyes) is shown.[88] The bodies of the statues show the same superficial similarities and differences as their heads. The Champa Buddha and the Java one, for instance, are in the same attitude, have the right shoulder uncovered, and show a similar pleating of the garment. Aside, however, from the more elongated proportions of the Java Buddha— a feature which might only be indicative of a later period—the stance of the figure is more unstable, the weight of the body being carried by only one foot. The same impression of instability is given by the Ruvanvāli Buddha[65] which we dated in the fourth century A.D., and by a later standing bronze statuette in the Colombo Museum (Fig. 16, right). The appearance of stability is achieved in the Champa Buddha mainly by the central placing of the axis of the figure. The proportions do not seem to change this impression, since the Ruvanvāli Buddha looks unstable in spite of its bulk, while the late bronzes from Amarāvatī and Buddhapad, which are slender, seem more stable. The treatment of the folds in the drapery is considerably different in the three "imported bronzes." The Champa Buddha (Fig. 11) shows the fluid rhythm and freedom of line of the Amarāvatī torso (Fig. 10), while the Java example and the Celebes one (Figs. 14, 13) show the pedantically clear lines and the rigid parallelism which is characteristic of Ceylon. (Compare them, for instance, with the torso in the Colombo Museum; Fig. 12.) The slightly raised grooves around the arm of the Java Buddha (Fig. 14) and their equal spacing are reminiscent of the seated Buddha in the Colombo Museum (Fig. 16), which we have dated in the sixth century or later. As a matter of fact, the two figures resemble each other in other respects. The cutting edge of the nose, the pinched mouth, the lids almost closed over the eye, the disorderly disposition of the curls over the head, the long and narrow waist, the straight line of the drapery crossing from the right shoulder to the left side, under the breast, and the fleshy prominence of the uncovered breast—all these characteristics in common date the two figures not too far apart. The profile of the Java figure (Fig. 17) is very similar to that of a celestial being depicted at Sīgiriya (Ceylon) (Fig. 15): it has the same elongated shape of the head, pointed nose, protruding lower lip, and small chin. The eye is placed at about the same distance from the nose, the ear has the same proportions and position, and the eyebrow, marked by a thin curve, is placed very high on the forehead. In view of the similarities both with the fifth century painting and the sixth century statue, the Java Buddha may be dated in the late fifth century A.D. or the early sixth. The Buddha from Celebes (Fig. 13) may be dated slightly earlier. It lacks the hieratic quality of the Java Buddha, and its more human and expressive face places it closer to the Amarāvatī school. That it does not belong to that school is proved by the sweetness in the expression, by the soft passage from the cheek to the eye (in Amarāvatī the eye protrudes abruptly from the sunken eye-sockets, and the lids are thick), besides the fact already observed that the eye does not partake of the smile given by the mouth. The wide-open eye delimited by a slight incision, the roundness of the head, and the thick pleating of the garment recall the seated Buddha from Badulla,[73] while the shape of the head and the way it is set on a short neck, the disposi-

88. This distinctive mark is present also in a head of a Buddha found in Southern India by Jouveau-Dubreuil and brought by him to the Musée Guimet in Paris (it is reproduced in Bachhofer, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, x, 1934, pl. 2, fig. 4, where it is dated in the third century A.D.).

tion of the small curls over the head, the smile, tender and superficial, and the fleshiness of the shoulders and arms recall the seated Buddha from Anurādhapura.[72] The slender waist and hips and the tightly fitting drapery date this figure in the early Gupta period. The Champa Buddha (Fig. 11) is the earliest of the three "imported bronzes." It is closely connected with the bronze torso from Amarāvatī (Fig. 10), both in the proportions of the body and in the hang of the drapery. Like the Amarāvatī example, it shows the fluid, slightly asymmetrical folds, especially when they branch at the right side of the torso, the narrow groove that descends vertically from the upraised right arm to the ankles, the short waist, the bell-like skirt which clings to the left side and leg, the slight depression between the legs, the fleshiness of the hip, and the sort of pocket formed by the gathering of the drapery at the lower edge of the upper garment. The cutting line of the belt, present in some of the fourth century examples from Ceylon, is absent both in the Amarāvatī torso and in the Champa Buddha. On the basis of all these comparisons, the Champa bronze Buddha belongs to the Amarāvatī school and is datable in the fourth century A.D.

Two more Buddha figures, found in Siam, have been attributed by Le May and Coedés to the Amarāvatī school.[89] One was found at Korat, North East Siam,[90] while the other was found more to the south, at P'ong Tük.[91] In my opinion neither of them is related to Amarāvatī. The Buddha from Korat shows influences from the Sinhalese school in the regularity of the pleats of the drapery, and in the sweet expression of the face, the flat locks of hair, and the small mouth. However, the small ears, the high headdress, the large locks, and rounded folds of the drapery are not typical of Ceylon in the Anurādhapura period. The example from P'ong Tük is unlike any other example from Ceylon or Amarāvatī that I have seen. It follows, instead, the Gupta style of the school of Mathurā. The pleated drapery, the shoulders both covered, and especially the wide loop of the garment, which, descending in a sweeping curve from one arm to the ankles, reaches up to the other arm—all these features are present in any one of the Gupta images from Mathurā,[92] though the extreme slenderness of the body is alien to the stone statues of this school. Le May does not date the two Buddhas, but he quotes Coedés' attribution of the Buddha from P'ong Tük to the second century A.D., and Marshall's to a period not earlier than the fifth century A.D.[93] Coedés has more recently dated the statuette in the third or fourth century A.D.[94] This date seems still too early on account of the Gupta character of the statuette, which makes Marshall's dating more plausible.

Other instances of borrowings from India and Ceylon might be quoted, but the purpose of this paper was merely to decide the date and provenance of the three Buddhas from Champa, Java, and Celebes. A revision of the early chronology of Sinhalese sculpture and a discussion of the late bronzes from Amarāvatī have been only necessary steppingstones to clarify the question. The discussion of the chronology of Ceylon has been disproportionately long, but inevitably so, given the confusion in date and provenance of individual instances. If more comparisons with dated examples were made, and more careful and patient study were given to single elements, the discussion of the various periods in Indian art would be easier to follow, and the quicksands of Indian art history would be transformed into a development almost as consistent and solidly grounded as is nowadays that of Western art.[95]

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89. Le May, *op.cit.*, p. 16; Coedés, "Indian Influences upon Siamese Art," *op.cit.*, pp. 28-29.

90. Le May, *op.cit.*, fig. 3.   91. *ibid.*, fig. 4.

92. See, for instance, the fifth century stone Buddha from Mathurā reproduced by Coomaraswamy, *History of Art*, pl. XL, fig. 158.

93. Le May, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

94. Coedés, *Les états hindouisés*, p. 37.

95. After this paper was completed and submitted for publication to THE ART BULLETIN, a discussion of the three "imported bronzes" was given by Miss Jane Tilley of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, at the Spring Symposium held at the Frick Collection in New York. Miss Tilley's point of view—considerably different from the one upheld in this paper, especially in the dating of the objects—will be published in a forthcoming article in *Artibus Asiae*.
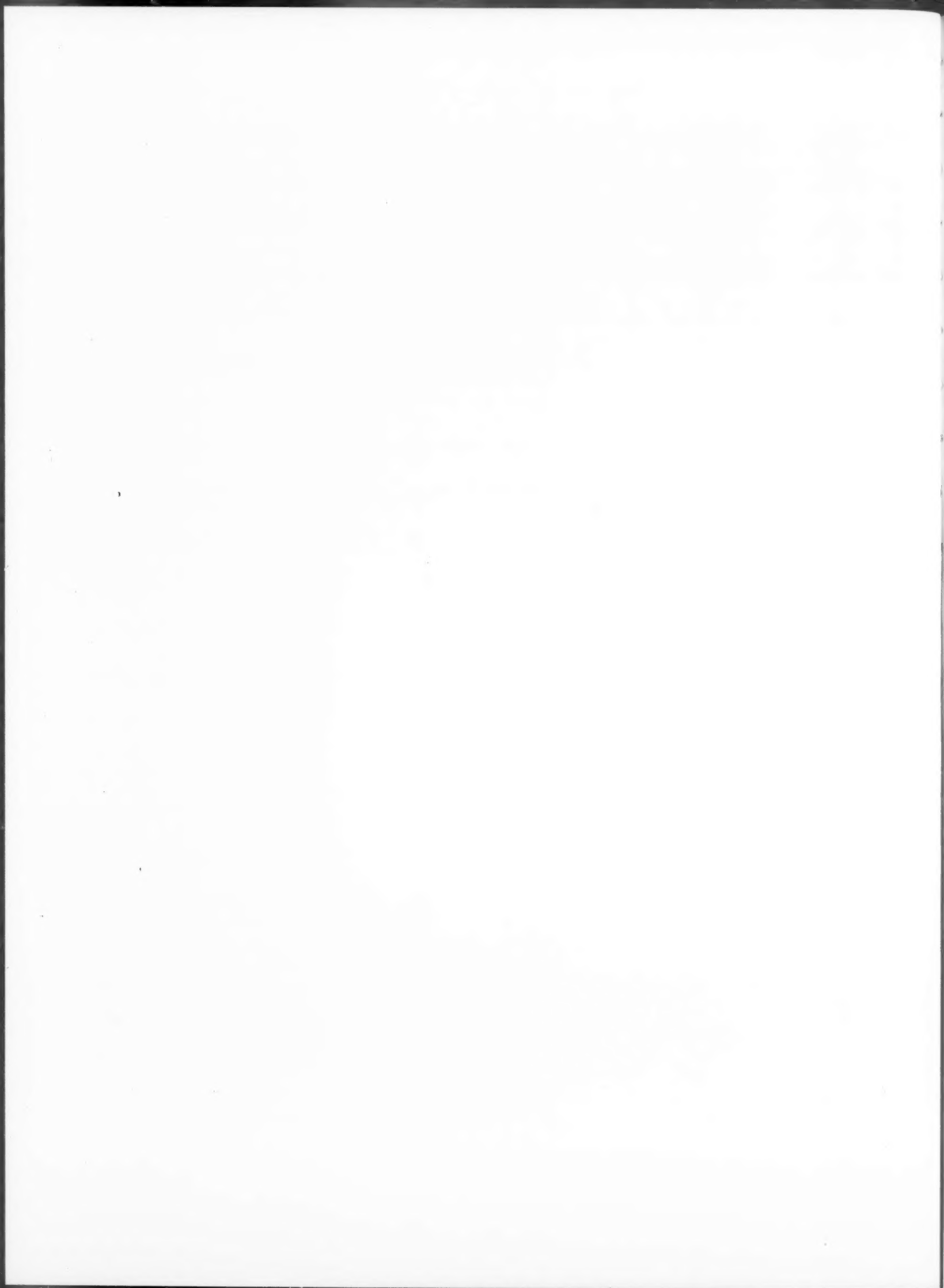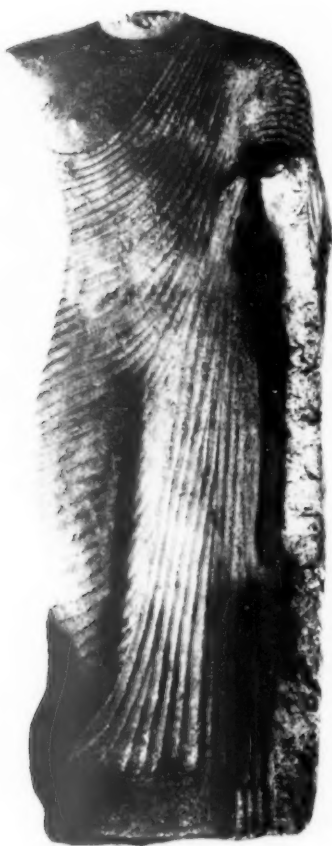
12. Stone torso of a Buddha,
Colombo Museum

13. Buddha from Celebes

14. Buddha from Java

15. Fresco at Sigiriya (Ceylon)

16. Bronze Buddhas, Colombo Museum

17. Side view of the Buddha from Java

1. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: MS 110, Bible, French, XIII century, fol. 88

iubilationis: omnis spiritus lau det dominum Gloria patri et filio: et spiritui sancto Sicut erat in principio et nunc et sem per: et in secula seculorum Amen:

2. Munich, Staatsbibliothek: Cod. lat. 3900, Psalter from Würzburg, XIII century, fol. 188r

3. Rome, Vatican Library: Vat. gr. 755, Byzantine, X century, fol. 225r

4. Washington, Library of Congress: Bible of Nekcsei-Lipócz, North Italian, XIV century, fol. 56r

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH*

RICHARD BERNHEIMER

I

I N the early decades of the thirteenth century the stationers of Paris brought out what may be called the first unified edition of the Bible prior to the advent of printing. Using hired craftsmen in secular workshops, the booksellers strove to supply the demand by the university with which they were affiliated for a book as homogeneous in text and appearance as the technique of copying by hand allowed. The volumes which issued from their shops had a standard text based upon a version of Jerome's translation that was recent enough to accord with the scholastic glosses to be consulted alongside.[1] The Bibles were smaller in size than had been the custom with books written for monastic use, and frequently were reduced to a pocket format convenient for purposes of study. The script, always in two parallel columns, was interrupted at approximately equal intervals by chapter headings which facilitated the search for a reference.[2] At the beginning of the individual Bible books each copy showed, as the only concession to the usual sumptuousness, a figured initial representing throughout the entire edition the same characteristic scene. Supported by the prestige of the great university, these volumes, large and small, penetrated beyond Paris and France into cathedral libraries, monasteries, and parsonages everywhere. In many centers all over Europe volumes were written repeating the text, layout, and illustrative scheme of what came to be known, because of its ubiquity, as the Vulgate.

At the beginning of the book of Isaiah, these Bible manuscripts all contained a miniature whose presence may seem surprising in a standard text, for the scene represented was one for which the accompanying words could offer no supporting evidence.[3] While the Bibles in question usually contain St. Jerome's prologue to Isaiah, they furnish no explanation, not even an apocryphal one, for the miniature which represents the prophet's martyrdom. The tacit assumption seems to have been that Isaiah's manner of death was too well known to require a written explanation.

The representation is a striking and distressing one (Fig. 1): Isaiah is shown kneeling and often with his hands tied to a column before him. His two executioners have approached him from both sides, standing either symmetrically or so that one has his footing slightly above the other. Together they operate a large wood saw, which is beginning to penetrate into the victim's skull.

In none of the French manuscripts which this writer has had an opportunity to examine is there a significant deviation from this scheme, which was thus as much part of the Paris Bible as any of its textual peculiarities. Outside of France, however, variations do occur, even in manuscripts whose layout and illustrative scheme betray an at least partial dependence on the Parisian prototype. In German miniatures, for instance, the prophet may be shown standing rather than kneeling as he is sawed in two (Fig. 2). In Italy, where the hold of the Parisian edition was more tenuous than

1. This appears to be the explanation for the many deviations of the thirteenth century Bible from the Original Vulgate text, which were the reason for the setting-up of "Correctoria" and for Roger Bacon's angry denunciation of contemporary Bible scholarship. See B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1941, p. 246. Consult also H. H. Glunz, *A History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon*, Cambridge, 1933, p. 259.

2. These were introduced by Stephan Langton; Smalley, *op.cit.*, p. 181.

3. To my knowledge, the only modern treatment of the artistic layout of the thirteenth century Bible is contained in a typewritten copy of a lecture by Adalbert Count of Erbach-Fürstenau about the Vulgate in Bologna, available in the Morgan Library.

elsewhere, since Bibles were still largely produced for monastic use, departures from the Parisian scheme are altogether frequent. Isaiah may be rendered tied to a St. Andrew's cross;[4] he may be shown recumbent on a wooden slab tilted across the page in the diagonal, as he is in the illustration by the gifted and eccentric master of the *Bible of Conradin* (13th century; Fig. 5):[5] or, again as in the *Bible of Nekcsei-Lipócz* (14th century; Fig. 4),[6] written in northern Italy for a Hungarian patron, the prophet may be extended upon a branch cross, a variant of the tree of life usually reserved for the mystical interpretation of the Crucifixion.[7] All these variations tended to increase the sinister intensity of a theme to which the Gothic artists of Paris had been able to contribute no more than their cheerfully polite conventions. Only the fact that the saw is always shown entering through the victim's skull seems to tie the freer Italian variants to the Parisian scheme.

The question whence the Parisian stationers took the prototype for their illustrations, which established the popularity of the theme, is made difficult by the lack of a unified tradition in the centuries preceding the thirteenth. Of illuminated manuscripts from the Romanesque age to which this writer has had access only the *Bible of Michelsbeuren*, written in Salzburg in the eleventh century,[8] shows the Parisian type, and even here it is modified by the addition, in a framed panel above the miniature, of the representation of Isaiah's enemy, the idolatrous king Manasse, seated in state between his attendants, as he supervises the execution. Of other representations of our theme, a miniature in an Italian Bible of the eleventh century in the Laurentian Library (Fig. 6) shows the prophet leaning clumsily across the picture, as two men set the saw against his waist. In a fresco in the chapter house in Brauweiler in the Rhineland (12th century)[9] the prophet is tied frontally to a scaffold so that his limbs are spread away from his trunk.

While it is thus impossible to trace a consistent line of development that could have led to the adoption of the Parisian type, its ultimate origin, no matter through what intermediaries (if any), is beyond doubt. That origin goes back to Byzantion. The Paris Gregory (9th century, Bibl. Nat. Grec. 510)[10] and the Vaticanus No. 755 (10th century?; Fig. 3) both contain the martyrdom of Isaiah, and its continued presence in the minds of those responsible for the choice of Greek iconography is borne out by the fact that it appears once more, centuries after Byzantine art had ceased to be a living force, in the prescriptions of the *Painters' Book* of Mount Athos.[11] There are no indications in the *Painters' Book* of how the prophet himself should be represented. In the two manuscripts, however, the sawing is rendered almost precisely as the artists working for the Parisian stationers were to show it centuries later: with the prophet kneeling in an attitude expressive of his agony, while the executioners, symmetrically placed, ignore his pain and quietly proceed with their work. It is characteristic of the part which the Greek heritage played in the creation of Byzantine iconography that in this, as in innumerable other instances, a formula should have been adopted which through the frozen language of gesture refers to an inner state.

It is equally characteristic of the earliest Western tradition, based as it was upon an Egyptian or African prototype, that this expressiveness of gesture was dispensed with for the sake of a dignified hieratic stance. The two examples of the martyrdom of the prophet which have survived in Western

4. For instance, Clm. 7206, Vatican. Lat. 30, Morgan 436.

5. Walters 10.152, fol. 162v. This is not a straight Bible, but an (incompletely preserved) lectionary on the Bible under the title *Biblia Selecta*, containing, as its name suggests, a mere selection of the original Bible books and, on the other hand, an extraordinary amount of non-Biblical material. The book of Isaiah is very much abbreviated.

6. M. Harrsen, *The Nekcsei-Lipócz Bible*, Washington, 1949.

7. The branch cross is frequent in Italian art of the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. It occurs among others in Niccolò and Giovanni Pisano's pulpit in Siena, in Giovanni Pisano's pulpit in Pistoia, and in a wooden cross in the cathedral museum in Siena, always, of course, in connection with the Crucifixion. See H. Bethe, "Astkreuz," in *Reallexikon*

der Deutschen Kunstgeschichte, 1.

8. G. Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei von den ersten Anfängen bis zur Blütezeit des Romanischen Stils*, Leipzig, 1913, pl. 25.

9. P. Clemen, *Romanische Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinlanden*, Düsseldorf, 1916, pls. 22, 23.

10. H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VIe au XIVe siècle*, Paris, 1902, pl. 49.

11. G. Schaefer, *Handbuch der Malerei vom Berge Athos*, Trier, 1855, p. 136: "The prophet is tied to a tree, two soldiers saw him apart with a wooden saw. The king Manasse sits on a throne opposite, and many other Hebrews are beside him, and idols and altars."

art of the first millennium both show him standing upright as he undergoes the supreme penalty. In El Bagawat in Egypt (5th to 6th century)[12] he stands on a kind of rack while two executioners saw him in the middle; and in the *Bible of Roda* (about A.D. 1000; Fig. 7),[13] a book filled with iconographic reminiscences from the Spanish and African past, the prophet stands frontally, lifting both hands in the traditional gesture of the orans, and thus provides a center of symmetry for the executioners on both sides of him.

We happen to possess a very ancient literary document which confirms the early acceptance of this scheme in the Iberian peninsula. There exists a chapter on the sawing of Isaiah by Potamius (†366),[14] bishop of Lisbon in the time of Athanasius, whose doctrine he supported in a published tract. Without reproducing Potamius' intolerably literal description of a martyrdom by sawing, we shall observe only that according to him Isaiah stood "tall and splendid" and "in the immobile state of his unshaken body," while his torturers were bent back and twisted with the strain of their work. Such steadfastness presupposes that the motion of the saw was perpendicular, and Potamius informs us that the saw entered into the skull first, before it descended into the lower parts of the body. St. Ambrose[15] and St. Isidore of Seville[16] contribute the same detail, which thus had gained literary acceptance before it became part of established mediaeval iconography. It may be observed in addition that St. Isidore speaks of Isaiah being extended, stretched out, as he underwent the penalty: a textual detail located in a mediaeval tract which was so generally accessible that we can attribute to its influence the existence of most artistic representations showing Isaiah stretched out on a board or on a cross.

It is thus safe to say that most of the details of the martyrdom of Isaiah, as rendered in mediaeval art, had their justification in earlier texts. Departure from such textual precedent was possible only where the tradition was not known—as in the aforementioned Bible in the Laurentian Library (Fig. 6), with its sawing from the "wrong" vantage point—or where it had been consciously abandoned because it failed to satisfy an artistic desire for naturalness and plausibility. From the second part of the fourteenth century onward, the martyrdom of Isaiah was visualized more and more as if it had been pictured by the hangman about to perform his task: a wooden scaffold is shown from which the prophet is hanging with his head downward, so that the saw can bite into him from between his legs. It is in this manner that the sawing was rendered in the majority of manuscripts of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (Fig. 8),[17] into which the martyrdom of Isaiah had found entry as one of its three established antitypes of the erection of the Cross.

II

There remains the problem, of which the reader must by now be thoroughly aware, of how a saint and, for that matter, a Jewish prophet, came to be imagined as having died by the extraordinary process of being sawed in two. Even granted that the Middle Ages liked its tales of martyrdom gory and sensational, one cannot help but feel that to saw a man in two is not only cruel, but also unusual and impractical. Other motives besides a preference for the excessive seem required to explain the choice of an instrument of torture which is almost without parallel in the long catalogue of Christian and Jewish suffering. A study of the literary sources from which mediaeval artists derived their conception of the death of Isaiah will help to resolve this difficulty.

Two such sources come to mind: the life of Isaiah in the so-called *Vitae Prophetarum*, a Jewish

12. V. Bock, *Archéologie de l'Egypte chrétienne*, Paris, 1901, pl. 21.

13. W. Neuss, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei*, Bonn and Leipzig, 1922, pl. 28.

14. Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, VIII, col. 1415.

15. *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam* 1:9, *ibid.*, XV,

col. 1800.

16. *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum, ibid.*, LXXXIII, col. 142.

17. Twenty-five manuscripts of the *Speculum* containing this mode of representation are enumerated in E. Breitenbach, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, Strasbourg, 1930, p. 197, while all the other types are represented in his list by only seven items.

apocryphon of the Apostolic age,[18] and the well-known *Ascension of Isaiah*, a Jewish-Christian apocryphon of similar date.[19] Of these the latter must be discarded, as far as its direct effect upon the high Middle Ages is concerned. For the *Ascension of Isaiah*, suspect as early as the time of St. Epiphanius[20] and of St. Jerome[21] for its erroneous teaching about the Holy Spirit, was regarded throughout the mediaeval period as a heretical book upon whose authority no loyal Christian could rely. It was in use among such outlying communities as the Ethiopian branch of the Coptic church (which actually accepted it as a canonical) and the Manichean sect of the Messalians in Mesopotamia. After an early vogue in Spain and in Portugal, to which St. Jerome bears testimony,[22] it fell into oblivion in Europe, to be reintroduced only by the heretical Catharians and Waldensians who had themselves received it from the Orient.[23] It is inconceivable that a book as thoroughly discredited as the *Ascension of Isaiah* could have affected any but a fringe of doubtful Christians, much more that it could have extended its influence to the Parisian edition of the Bible.

The *Vitae Prophetarum*, on the other hand, was widely known both east and west and regarded as unexceptionable. It circulated not only in translation into such Eastern languages as Syrian, Armenian, and Ethiopian, but also in Greek and Latin versions, the latter fathered—supposedly—by no lesser a person than the great Spanish scholar St. Isidore of Seville. The Greek Orthodox church, like its sister organizations in Asia and Africa, read excerpts from the *Vitae Prophetarum* on the liturgical feast days of the prophets. As if to set the final seal of authority upon it, two of the Greek rescensions of the book were actually, although erroneously, attributed to the vociferous archenemy of all heterodoxy, St. Epiphanius of Cyprus.[24]

Endowed with credentials such as these, the *Vitae Prophetarum* penetrated into the inner sanctum of mediaeval literature. To speak only of the Western development: St. Isidore's text, embodied in his *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum*, recommended itself so much by its brevity and by the extra-Biblical information it contained that it was incorporated into most of the great Bible manuscripts written in Spain during and shortly after the Visigothic reign. It was from examples such as the *Codex Toledanus* (8th century)[25] or the Bibles of Urgel (9-10th century)[26] and of Roda[27] that other European scriptoria learned the device of placing the pertinent passage from Pseudo-Isidore before the prophetic book as a biographical preface. The lamentable state of our knowledge about the history of the Bible text and of its appendages[28] during the high Middle Ages makes it impossible to trace the development that follows in detail. It is certain, however, from the number of Pseudo-Isidorian prefaces preserved in manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries,[29] that the makers of the Paris Bible could rely upon a well-established tradition when they decided to omit the prefaces in their literary form and to replace them by painted initials representing the martyrdom of the prophet.[30]

In the middle of the twelfth century, the further step was taken of placing the stories of the

18. Th. Schermann, *Die Vitae Prophetarum* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, XXXI), Leipzig, 1907; Th. Schermann, *Prophetarum Vitae Fabulosae*, Leipzig, 1907; Ch. C. Torrey, *The Lives of the Prophets*, Philadelphia, 1946.

19. E. Tisserant, *L'Ascension d'Isaie*, Paris, 1909; R. H. Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, London, 1919.

20. *Haereses* 67: 3, Migne, *Patrol. Graec.*, XLII, col. 176.

21. *Commentarium in Isaiam* 64:4-5, *Patrol. Lat.*, XXIV, col. 622.

22. *ibid.*

23. For this entire history, see Tisserant, *op.cit.*, p. 71.

24. For all this, see Schermann, *Die Vitae Prophetarum*.

25. S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1893, p. 13; J. M. Bover, S.J., *La Vulgata en Espagna*, Estudios Biblicos, Madrid, 1941.

26. T. Ayuso Marazuela, "Los Elementos Extrabiblicos de la Vulgate," *Estudios Biblicos*, II, no. 2, 1947, p. 356. The same is true of the *Bible of St. Isidore of Leon*, dated 1162: Berger, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

27. Berger, *op.cit.*, p. 24. This manuscript combines the text of the *Vitae Prophetarum* with the appropriate illustrations. See also S. Berger, "Les préfaces jointes aux livres de la Bible dans les manuscrits de la Vulgate," *Mémoires présentées par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, Première Série, XI, p. 48.

28. Among the few contributions to this field, besides those quoted, is D. De Bruyne, *Préfaces de la Bible latine*, Namur, 1920.

29. For instance, Vatican. Lat. 10404 (11th century), fol. 189, Vatican. Lat. 10405 (same date), fol. 114, according to the catalogue by M. Vatasso and H. Carusi; Laurenz. Edili 125 (11th century), fol. 190v, according to a letter from the director, Dr. Teresa Lodi; Vatican. Lat. 4220 (11th century), according to Berger, "Les préfaces . . . ," p. 56.

30. It should be noted here that the Paris Bible took over also from Pseudo-Isidore the representation of the stoning of Jeremiah which occurs almost regularly at the beginning of the book of Jeremiah.

prophets, including the martyrdom of Isaiah, in the historical position to be accorded to them in the chronological sequence of an expanded Bible text. Together with an incongruous assortment of references ranging from Flavius Josephus to the oral traditions of contemporary Jews, the texts from the *Vitae Prophetarum* were incorporated into Petrus Comestor's prodigious monument of indiscriminate learning, the *Historia Scolastica*.[31] Since this work by the first chancellor of the University of Paris was in its turn the chief source for the numerous world chronicles written in the later Middle Ages, the sawing of Isaiah received its firm place in the historical consciousness of the age. It occurs, to mention just a few instances, in Petrus Pictavensis' *Chronique du Monde*, in the chronicle of Heinrich of Munich,[32] and in the French translation of Comestor's work by Guyart Desmoulins: books in the vernacular which helped to bring the material they contained to the attention of a broad public. All these books were illustrated. To give two instances from American-owned manuscripts: the Petrus Pictavensis in the Morgan Library (Amiens, 13th century)[33] shows Isaiah tied to a column as one man wields a huge saw against him; and the complete French Bible by Guyart Desmoulins (Fig. 9) in the same library transforms the event into a historical scene with the king Manasse and members of his court in attendance as the saint is bisected upon a wooden plank.

The final step in the evolution of the subject was taken when the author of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* decided to include the martyrdom of Isaiah in his odd and highly personal collection of Divine prefigurations of events in the New Testament (Fig. 8).[34] As previously mentioned, Isaiah's death serves as an antitype to the erection of the Cross and therefore indirectly to the Crucifixion, for, as the author says, "The Jews divided Christ in half with a wooden saw, when they used the cross to separate his soul from his body."

It must be mentioned as an afterthought that in rare cases the representation of the prophet's death found a place even in the Psalter, as part of an identifying initial preceding the so-called *Canticle of Isaiah*, which had been taken from its canonical place in the twelfth chapter of the prophet's book. Examples of this occur in the manuscripts of the period close to 1200, such as the British Psalter Arundel 157 (Fig. 10) and several Psalters from Franconia (Fig. 2).[35]

The book from which all these traditions stemmed, the original *Vitae Prophetarum*, was as anomalous among the Jewish writings of its day as it was fitted for the prefatorial part it was to play in Christian literature. It has none of the imaginative splendor of contemporary apocalyptic thought. Instead, it is devoted to the humbler task of collecting, in as concise form as possible, some of the extra-Biblical folklore which had grown up in its day. As a framework for such legends its author used brief and concrete communications about the places of birth, of death, and of burial of each of his heroes, cutting down his statement, when there is nothing else to relate, to this merest biographical minimum. A glimpse may be had of the author's purpose in writing his book by considering that he is never more interested or well informed than when it comes to describing the location of the prophets' tombs. Then he, who is usually so tight-lipped, omits none of the minutiae required for establishing a topographical identity. The present writer is not the first to suggest that the primary purpose of the book may have been to serve as a pilgrims' guide to the prophets' tombs, of whose importance in the period of the New Testament we know from Jesus' strictures against the veneration accorded to them.

31. *Patrol. Lat.*, CXCVIII, col. 1414. See also H. Vollmer, *Ober- und Mitteldeutsche Historienbibeln*, Berlin, 1912; H. Vollmer, *Eine Deutsche Schulbibel des 15. Jahrhunderts, Historia Scolastica des Petrus Comestor in deutschem Auszug mit lateinischem Paralleltext*, Berlin, 1925; Smalley, *op.cit.*, p. 156. I am not sufficiently versed in the history of Bible criticism in the Middle Ages to be able to discuss the possible connection between Comestor's work and the Paris Bible of the thirteenth century.

32. P. Gichtel, *Die Weltchronik des Heinrich von München*

in der Runkelsteiner Handschrift des H. Sentlinger, Munich, 1937, p. 298.

33. Morgan 751.

34. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, Leipzig, 1907, pl. 46 and p. 216.

35. H. Swarzenski, *Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts in den Ländern an Rhein, Main und Donau*, Berlin, 1936, pl. 200 (Melk, Stiftsbibliothek 1833), pl. 175 (Munich, Clm. 3900).

The book may be a guide, but it is not an itinerary, and thus differs from most of the Christian literature about Palestine and the Near East which was to begin a few centuries later with the notices by the pilgrim from Bordeaux. Its author seems to have come from Palestine himself and thus could hardly have conceived it in terms of travel experiences. When dealing with this his native land, he speaks with the authority of one retailing local and familiar knowledge. He is ignorant of the Jewish topography in the Eastern Diaspora, and thus avoids making any statement about the tomb of the prophet Daniel[36] which must have been located there; and as for Egypt, where so many Jews were living in his time, he specifically quotes the authority of the children of two Egyptians, Antigonus and Ptolemy, for what he has to say about the tomb of Jeremiah who had died there in captivity.[37] Whether the author met these men in his native Palestine or whether he received their information while on pilgrimage to the miraculous tomb of Jeremiah in Taphnai, Egypt,[38] of which they may have been the keepers, the text does not disclose.

It is possible to determine the date of our book within reasonably narrow limits of time. Its author must have known of the conquest of Jerusalem by the Romans, since he puts in the mouth of one of the prophets, Habakkuk, the prediction that the Temple would be destroyed by a nation from the West:[39] an apocryphal saying which would not have been found worth recording had it not been confirmed by the actual passage of events. It is not probable, on the other hand, that the *Vitae Prophetarum* could have been composed later than the beginning of the second century A.D., when the separation of the Christian from the Jewish church had become an established fact. For even in its earliest recensions the book shows signs of overhauling by a Christian hand which would hardly have been tolerated by either church once the break had occurred.[40] It is safe, therefore, to attribute our text to the period immediately following Titus' victorious war against the Jews. It is a contemporary of the oldest books of the New Testament.

And now the text itself:[41] "Isaiah was of Jerusalem. He met his death at the hands of Manasse, sawed in two, and was buried below the oak[42] of Rogel hard by the passage across[43] the waters which Hezekiah spoiled by blocking their course. For the prophet's sake God wrought the miracle of Siloam; for before his death, when he was beginning to faint, he prayed for water, and it was sent to him from its spring. Hence it was called Siloam which meant 'sent.' Also in the time of Hezekiah, before the king made the pools and reservoirs, at the prayer of Isaiah a little water came forth here, lest the city, at the time besieged by the gentiles, should be destroyed by lack of water. For the enemy were seeking a drinking place, and as they invested the city, they encamped near Siloam. If, then, the Hebrews came to the pool, water flowed forth; if the gentiles came, there was none. Hence even to the present day the water issues suddenly to keep the miracle in mind.

"Because this was wrought through the prayer of Isaiah, the people in remembrance buried his body near the spot, with care and high honor, in order that through his prayers, even after his death, they might continue to have the benefit of the water. Indeed, a revelation had been given to them concerning him. His tomb, however, is near the tomb of the kings, behind the tomb of the priest, on the side toward the south."

36. Only one of the two recensions of the *Vitae Prophetarum* attributed to St. Epiphanius mentions the tomb of Daniel and places it near the tombs of the kings in Babylon. In the later Middle Ages the tomb of Daniel in Susa, southern Persia, became a great pilgrimage center which was visited by, among others, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela and Rabbi Petachia of Regensburg. E. N. Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, New York, 1931, pp. 74-76 and p. 79.

37. Torrey, *op.cit.*, pp. 10 and 35.

38. That the tomb was a pilgrimage center is borne out by the author's assertion that people who went there brought away the local dust as a magical cure for snake bite; Torrey, *op.cit.*, p. 35.

39. *ibid.*, p. 44.

40. *ibid.*, p. 9.

41. The translation is taken from Torrey, but amended where his version did not agree with our understanding of the text.

42. Torrey's translation "fountain" for "δρυὸς" is completely unwarranted and in fact an expression of preconceived ideas.

43. "τῆς διαβάσεως τῶν ὑδάτων" cannot mean "conduit of the waters," as Torrey translates, but only "passage across the waters," as was clearly seen by Pères H. Vincent and F. M. Abel, *Jerusalem, recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, II, pt. 4, Paris, 1936, p. 857. Compare also F. M. Abel, "Le tombeau d'Isaie," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, XI, 1922, p. 25.

In order to bring some order into this account, it is necessary to clarify first its topographical presuppositions.[44] The scene is the eastern slope of Mount Moriah, where it descends toward the Kidron Valley, just outside of the walls of the ancient city of Jerusalem. A tradition as old as the time of the prophet Ezekiel claims that this spur of the mountain (known also as Ophel), on which the city of David and the Temple stood, contained also the hidden tombs of the Jewish kings. The spring Siloam to which our book makes reference, the Biblical Gîhon, is located on the same slope somewhat higher in the valley and further north, so that its water can serve as a source of irrigation for the areas beneath. In order to establish the historical importance of the spring, it is enough to state that it was the only source of living water available to the city of Jerusalem, and therefore vital for its establishment and survival as a center of human habitation. The account in the *Vitae Prophetarum* gives due consideration to this unique and essential function of the spring by insisting that upon its continued yield depended the ability of the city to maintain itself in time of siege.

The fountain was and still is an intermittent one which flows at irregular intervals. Access to it was available through a subterranean passage cut into the rock by the pre-Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem,[45] in order to connect the spring with the town above, and to enable its defenders to reach their water supply from within the ramparts without being seen from the outside. The account in the *Vitae Prophetarum* betrays knowledge of this mode of access to the grotto and confirms the presence of a second entrance, still extant, further down on the slope of the hill, through which an external enemy could reach the spring.

There was a system of canals which conveyed the water of Siloam to the lower parts of the Kidron Valley. The earliest of these, of pre-Jewish origin, descended into the valley subterraneously and by the shortest route. It does not concern us here. The second one, built later in the time of the first Jewish kings, skirted the slope of Mount Moriah and ended not far from the juncture of the Kidron Valley and of the Valley of Hinnom to the south. It is this canal near which, according to the *Vitae Prophetarum*, the tomb of Isaiah lay. The Bible and recent excavations confirm that this canal was walled off in the time of King Hezekiah, in order to divert the limited flow of water to the famous tunnel, then under construction, which was to cut through the slope of Mount Moriah and deliver its contents directly to the pools and reservoirs below.

The topographical indications in the *Vitae Prophetarum* thus display remarkable accuracy, permitting us to determine the location of both Isaiah's tomb and his tree within a narrow area. It is safe to say, on the basis of the facts reviewed, that the tomb of Isaiah was located in the southeasternmost portion of Mount Moriah, close to the valley bottom, and just above the pool of Siloam of Evangelic fame.[46] The name Rogel, reserved in our text for the oak over the tomb, appears in Isaiah's genuine writings[47] and is here associated with the "aqueduct leading to the upper pool on the way to the fuller's field," that is, with a neighborhood that can be plausibly identified with the area of juncture between the old Siloam canal and the path leading from the city to the reservoirs. None of the other Biblical references to En-Rogel can serve to establish its topographical identity. Efforts to connect the name with the modern Bir-Eyub, a well dug in the bottom of the valley on occasion of a drought in the sixth century A.D., are erroneous.[48]

A glance at the Bible will tell us why Isaiah came to be associated with the hydraulic system of Jerusalem. He had, in fact, shown considerable interest in it, taking the conservative side against the irreverence of technical innovators. He had opposed the building of the new reservoirs, as a

44. For this, see the literature cited in note 43, and also P. H. Vincent, *Jerusalem sous terre*, London, 1912; R. Weill, *La cité de David*, Paris, 1920, p. 156; B. Meistermann, *Guide to the Holy Land*, London, 1923, p. 245; F. Dalman, *Jerusalem und sein Gelände*, Gütersloh, 1930; J. Finegan, *Light from the Ancient Past: The Archeological Background of the Hebrew-Christian Religion*, Princeton, 1946, p. 159.

45. This was the manner in which access to their spring was obtained by several of the ancient fortress towns of Palestine, such as Megiddo, Lachish, and Gezer. See R. S. Lamon, *The Megiddo Water System*, Chicago, 1935; and R. A. MacCalister, *Excavations at Gezer*, London, 1912, I, p. 256.

46. For this and what immediately follows, see the accurate conclusions arrived at by Vincent and Abel, *op.cit.*, II, pt. 4, p. 857, in their analysis of the story in the *Vitae Prophetarum*.

47. Isaiah 7:3 and 36:2.

48. Meistermann, *op.cit.*, p. 247.

sign of disrespect for those who had fashioned the old pool long ago;[49] and he had gone so far as to threaten an overwhelming Assyrian flood as an analogous punishment for having "refused the waters of Siloam that go softly,"[50] that is, for having stopped the old canal for the sake of a more modern engineering device.

However, these historical facts, of which our author was surely well aware, do not suffice to explain the intimacy and persistence of Isaiah's connection with the spring, as described in the *Vitae Prophetarum*. It was for his sake, allegedly, that it received its name Siloam, "sent"; it was also he who caused its intermittent flow through his prayer in time of danger. Even the continued irregularity of the spring is attributed to his power: to his posthumous prayer and to the automatic continuation of the conditions established by him. Indeed, we are told that the burial of Isaiah at the spot where he lies is due to a careful calculation (confirmed by a revelation from above) to the effect that the presence of his body near the canal might ensure the spring's perpetual yield.

There is only one explanation for all this: Isaiah, as here presented, is to be taken not as a historical figure, but as the owner of the spring, its lord and tutelary demon;[51] the story about his miraculous activities is an etiological legend meant to explain the origin of the spring, its name and its puzzling intermittence; and the connection of Isaiah with it is a mere abuse of his name, encouraged by the chance circumstance that he had mentioned Siloam in several of his prophecies. We may not be far from the truth when we liken the false Isaiah of our tale to such figures from the Palestinian past as Ba'al perazìm, "owner of the outflow,"[52] or Ba'al hâmon, "owner of the torrent,"[53] whose appellations, typically enough, indicated both a demon and a locality benefited by his rule. The case which we are compelled to present is thus an ironical one, involving the surreptitious transformation of a great Hebrew prophet into the likeness of one of those native figures whose eradication from the soil of Palestine had been a prime purpose of the prophetic movement.

But the matter is perhaps not quite as strange as it would seem, for it is clear from various sources, Jewish and Christian, that the Palestinian nature cults, far from having succumbed to the prophetic wrath, had persisted into the time of the New Testament, dissimulating their identity under the assumed names of historical personalities.

The *Vitae Prophetarum* themselves give evidence for this when they place the tombs of several prophets (Isaiah, Achias of Shiloh)[54] under prominent trees or in spectacular caves (Ezechiel),[55] that is, in close association with landmarks capable of arousing the awe of the local inhabitants. Other sources tell us of the continued veneration by both Jews and Christians at such centers of the nature cult as the oak in Mamre,[56] under which the angels had appeared to Abraham, or the tombs of the Patriarchs close by.[57] Again, there is the curious phenomenon of the proliferation of the prophets' tombs which began in the late Jewish period,[58] to reach its climax much later under the combined impact of a triple tradition, Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan. In the course of time most of the prophets came to boast several tombs in various parts of the Near East: a multiplication of shrines which, in the light of modern evidence from Palestine, must be explained (at least partially)[59] by

49. Isaiah 22:9-11.

50. Isaiah 8:6-8.

51. This was clearly seen by Vincent and Abel, *op.cit.*, p. 859.

52. 2 Samuel 5:20.

53. Canticles 8:11.

54. Torrey, *op.cit.*, p. 46.

55. *ibid.*, p. 37. Characteristically, the cave in which Ezechiel allegedly was buried is said to have also contained the tombs of Shem and Arphaxad, the "ancestors of Abraham"—that is, to have had a mythological past when the burial of Ezechiel occurred.

56. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3:51; and Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2:4. The combined reading of the two detailed passages leaves a vivid impression of the degree to which festivities during this period could still resemble Palestinian cult practices of the remote past. (A great deal of other pertinent material will have to go unmentioned.)

57. Antoninus Piacentinus (6th century A.D.); P. Geyer, *Itineraria Hierosolymitana Seculi IIII-VIII*, Vienna, 1888, p. 178.

58. Two manuscripts of the recension of the *Vitae Prophetarum* ascribed to Dorotheus, bishop of Thyre in the third century, claim that the prophet Zachariah is buried by the grave of Haggai near Eleutheropolis. But in the preceding *Vita* of Haggai it is written that the latter is buried near the priests in Jerusalem.

59. Since it is not possible here to document the complex geography of the prophets' tombs, I shall limit myself to the case of Isaiah. The fact that we found his tomb located near Jerusalem did not hinder Theodosius II from obtaining his bones in Paneas in Basan: see *Acta S. S. Bolland.*, July 11th,

the desire to justify the persistence of local traditions of the nature cult by providing the places to which they had clung with authoritative historical names. In the vast majority of cases there was not a shred of real evidence to support the local claim.[60]

III

We are now ready to discuss the central feature of our story. If it is true that the legend of Isaiah, as recounted in the *Vitae Prophetarum*, is merely an explanatory tale meant to elucidate the origin of the Gîhon spring and its enigmatic intermittence, then the martyrdom itself will have to find its place within the pattern of magical hydraulics. Our text asserts that God sent water to Isaiah from the spring in answer to a prayer uttered *in extremis*, and that because of this spectacular act of grace it received the appellation Siloam, "sent." It is permissible to extend this etiology of the name to the object named and to maintain that in an older form of the story now almost beyond our reach[61] the prophet's death was causally linked with the origin of the spring. We can still appreciate what prevented our author from adopting this version of the tale. He derived the intermittence of Siloam from Isaiah's prayer earlier in his life, and thus would have involved himself in contradiction had he asserted, in effect, that its irregularity had become apparent before it had begun to exist. But, as so often, a trace of the older version remains in spite of efforts to delete it. When we are told that the Jews buried Isaiah "close by" or "near the spot," in order to have the continued benefit of the water, the locality indicated can only be that of Isaiah's martyrdom; for his prayers during the Assyrian siege, to which our author refers, could have taken place only well within the ramparts, not beyond the limits of safety during warfare, where the tree and tomb of Isaiah actually lay. Therefore, there must have been an original connection between Isaiah's martyrdom and the continued yield of the spring.

Once this is granted, only one kind of explanation for the martyrdom of Isaiah remains consistent with the testimony contained in our text. The pious legend reveals itself as a rather thinly disguised account of a sacrificial act, imagined or performed as a regular contribution to fertility or as a means of propitiating the capricious and unreliable lord of the spring in times of drought. If it is a propitiatory act—and we have no means of ascertaining, whether the story is not rather mythological—then the ritual must have taken the form, all too familiar in ancient Palestine, of a human sacrifice. We will have to assume, then, that the cult of which the sacrifice was part had long ceased to be effective by the time its victim had come to be identified with a Hebrew prophet, dating back, conceivably, to the time of King Hezekiah, when the Siloam tunnel was dug and an act of atonement may have been required to reconcile the spirit of the spring to the interference with his prerogative. It is possible, on the other hand, that the story in the *Vitae Prophetarum* preserves the distant memory of a pagan cult from the period before the reign of Hezekiah, when the new tunnel had not yet been made and the older canal was still in use. In appraising either possibility we will have to bear in mind that the text at our disposal is many centuries later than the event to which it refers obliquely, and must not be pressed. It provides no answer to the inevitable questions about

250; and Cedrenus in *Patrol. Grec.*, CXXI, col. 652. The transfer of the relics to the church of St. Lawrence in Constantinople took place in A.D. 442. In spite of this, Rabbi Jacob ha Cohen (12th century) saw the tomb of Isaiah in Meron, Galilee (Adler, *op.cit.*, p. 94), and Rabbi Jacob (13th century) in Es' Salt in Syria (*ibid.*, p. 127).

60. Of course, not all cases will necessarily fit into that pattern. When St. Peter, confronted with the phenomenon of the Transfiguration and with the abrupt appearance on Mount Tabor of the prophets Eliah and Moses, proposed to build tabernacles for Our Lord and his companions, he was surely not conscious of continuing any kind of local tradition. Yet even in this one recorded case of what, but for Jesus' sub-

sequent activities, would have been an immediate cause for the creation of a local cult, a dim awareness of the nature of the spot—a "high place" like so many places of nature worship—must have been operative in the mind of the fisherman from Galilee. Regarding Mount Tabor as a center of the pagan cult, see Hosea 5:1.

61. An obscure trace of this tradition seems to have been preserved in the Greek *Ascension of Isaiah* (O. v. Gebhard, "Ascensio Iesaiae," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1878, p. 352), where it is said that in the time of Ezekiah Isaiah actually dug the spring with his own hands and himself named it Siloam.

the nature of the cult, the name of the divinity worshiped, or even to the fundamental query about the relation of the victim to the entity to whom or in whose name he was sacrificed.

One thing is certain: the event or mythological belief recounted in the *Vitae Prophetarum* must have been both important and unusual, since otherwise no effort would have been made to preserve it for posterity by recasting it in historical terms. We shall expect therefore to find, as in fact we do, that sawing as a method of human sacrifice was not among the usual procedures of the cult practiced in ancient Palestine.

To this writer's knowledge, only one historical case of this kind of human torture must be acknowledged beyond dispute. A moderate distance from Jerusalem, at Gezer, excavations conducted a few decades ago yielded, together with other evidence of ritual cruelties, the well-preserved upper parts of two human bodies, which apparently had been sawed in two when still alive—one belonging to a youth of about eighteen years, the other to a girl one or two years younger. While the purpose of these slayings, dating back to the second millennium B.C., is not known, it is perhaps not pointless to observe that Gezer had a water system similar to that in Jerusalem, and that the killing may have been done for its benefit.[62]

There is, furthermore, the somewhat doubtful passage in the book of Samuel which asserts that David submitted the inhabitants of conquered Rabat Amon to iron saws and flails and burned them in brick kilns—atrocities of which recent commentators have tried to absolve him by translating that he set them to work at the instruments in question. The older version, if correct,[63] implies that the penalties meted out to the defeated garrison were continuations into the political field of practices originally connected with human sacrifice.

The reasons for using a saw, only dimly suggested in the cases presented, are clarified in a second very ancient text, which supplies the mythological context missing in the other surviving testimony. The Egyptian fairy tale of *The Two Brothers*[64] relates how a shepherd Bataou, an emigrant from the Nile to the Valley of the Cedar, meaning the area of the Lebanon, deposited his heart in a cedar tree and consequently died a sudden death when the tree was felled by his enemies: a story significantly paralleled by Plutarch's[65] tale of how a tree grew around Osiris' coffin when it had drifted to Phoenicia, and how it became so large and splendid that the king of Byblos had it felled and used it as a column in his palace.

We are here dealing with a Phoenician cedar god who dies as his tree is cut in two. While we cannot tell whether the worship of this divinity did at any time extend to Jerusalem and whether it involved a human sacrifice, the principle implied in the tale is surely applicable to the explanation of Isaiah's martyrdom. In the story of Bataou the sawing is motivated by a magical identity of tree and man, which exposed both to a common fate. The use of the saw in human sacrifice may be due to a similar belief in magical coincidence involving the conviction that the strength of the human victim cut in two passes into the vegetation of which he has become part by the analogical manner of his death.

To speak in terms of the passage in the *Vitae Prophetarum*: the death of Isaiah, if our interpretation is correct, may have a more than incidental and commemorative connection with the oak Rogel, under which he is said to have been buried by the Jews. The tree is the recipient of his strength, the intermediary between him and the water system, which will be the ultimate beneficiary of his death. The sawing, thus regarded, is a means of ensuring the efficacy of the sacrifice by relating it to the life of the vegetation which will profit from it.

62. MacCalister, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 426-437. In the opinion of later archeologists MacCalister's excavations, while not entirely reliable in matters of stratigraphy, were very carefully conducted in every other respect.

63. For a mythological parallel, compare the following from the Ras Shamra texts (R. Dussaud, *Les découvertes de Ras Shamrah et l'Ancien Testament*, Paris, 1937, p. 78): "Anat took Mot the Divine son. With a blade she cut him.

With a winnow she winnowed him. With fire she roasted him. With a mill she shook him." It will be noted that this description of a harvest ritual is very close to the list of penalties discussed.

64. P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Egypte*, Paris, 1926, pp. 66 and 288; A. Ermann, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, New York, 1927, p. 150.

65. *De Iside et Osiride* 15.

6. Florence, Laurentiana: MS Edili 125, Latin Bible, Italian, XI century, fol. 190v

8. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: MS 385, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, Dutch, XV century, fol. 26r.

5. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: MS 10.152, Bible of Conradin, Venice (?), XIII century, fol. 162v

7. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Cod. lat. 6, Bible of Roda, Catalan, XI century, Vol. III, fol. 2v
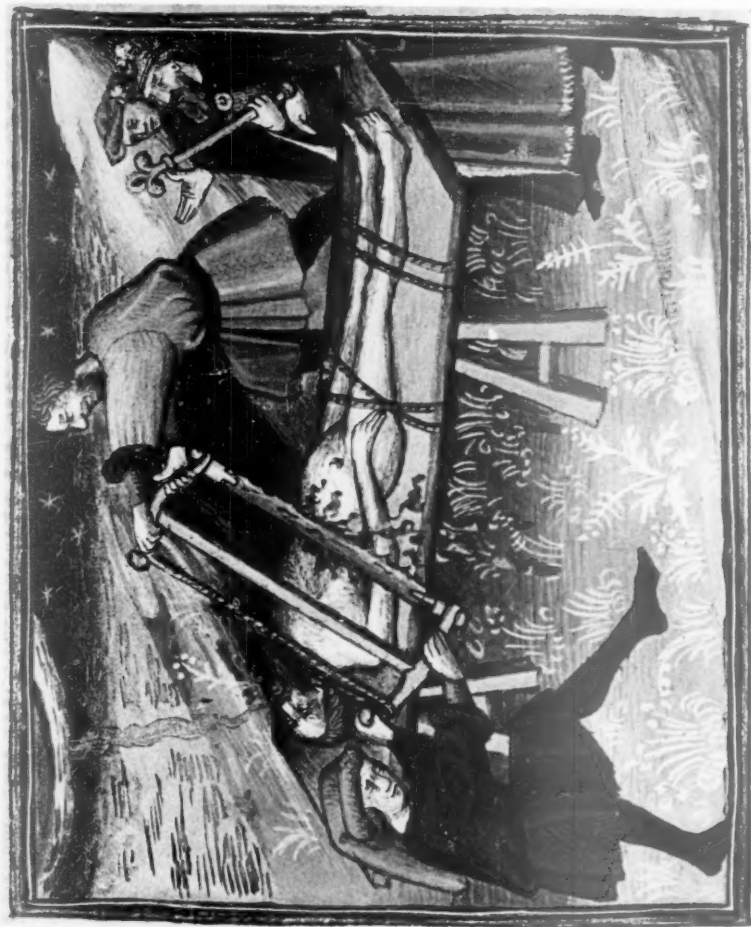
9. New York, Pierpont
Morgan Library: MS 394,
Bible of Guyart Desmou-
lins, French, XV century,
fol. 172

10. London, British Mu-
seum: Arundel 157, Latin
Psalter, English, XIII
century, fol. 116r

11. Karlsruhe, Landesbib-
liothek: *Speculum Humanae
Salvationis*, German, XIV
century, fol. 26r

12. Brussels, Bibliothèque
Royale: World Chronicle,
Flemish, dated 1355,
fol. 61r

We possess, besides that contained in the *Vitae Prophetarum*, several more versions of the legend of Isaiah which seem to confirm the conclusions reached here,[66] by relating that Isaiah was sawed in two together with the tree inside of which he happened to find himself at the moment of his death. The *Talmud Jebamoth*[67] asserts that, when he realized that he could not convince Manasse that he (Isaiah) had seen the Lord upon his throne, Isaiah "uttered the unpronounceable name, a cedar tree opened, and he disappeared within it. Then Manasse ordered the cedar to be sawed asunder and when the saw reached his mouth, Isaiah died." Similarly, it is written in the *Sanhedrin of Jerusalem*:[68] "When Manasse got up and began to run after Isaiah to kill him, the latter fled and hid himself in the trunk of a cedar tree. But, since the fringes of his garment were visible on the outside of the tree, he was recognized and the news of this was brought to the king, who said: 'Then cut the tree in two.' This was done and the man inside discovered." A similar statement appears in a late Targum to Isaiah.[69]

It is obvious that in all these Midrashim Isaiah is treated as if he were not a man, but the spirit of the vegetation whose fate he shares. Just as the *Vitae Prophetarum* deals with the ritual and topographical aspect of our story, so these Midrashim exploit the mythological. No reference occurs in them to the water system of Jerusalem, for mention of it would have compelled the writers to introduce also Isaiah's tree, so prominently located within the territory encompassed by it. That landmark, however, had been allegedly sawed in two. It will be noticed also that the tree in question is designated not as an oak, but as a cedar—that is, as a member of the same botanical species which had played its part in the legend of Bataou, the miraculous shepherd in the Lebanon. It is possible, although quite beyond proof, that there may be a real historical connection between the two stories which resemble each other so closely. Of what kind it was, whether it was due to an ancient community of ritual between Jerusalem and the Phoenician coast or to the usual migration and proliferation of fairy tales, it is impossible to tell.

Like its analogue, the story in the *Vitae Prophetarum*, the Talmud version of the martyrdom of Isaiah was to enjoy a long afterlife in literature wherever the Jewish Midrashim were honored and repeated. It occurs in the writings of the Arabic historian Ta'rikh[70] and Al-Tabari. In a later Persian legend of unknown date it came to be fused with the old Iranian tradition about the sawing of Yima, the first man and king of the Golden Age, whose death may also reflect a human sacrifice.[71] The church fathers were aware of the Talmud tradition about Isaiah, but characteristically limited themselves to recording that Isaiah's martyrdom was caused, as the Talmud and the *Ascension of Isaiah* claim, by his statement that he had seen God face to face, a blasphemy in the eyes of his cautiously orthodox opponents.[72] In some of the writings attributed to the fathers, such as St. Isidore's *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum*, the knowledge stemming from the *Vitae Prophetarum* was combined with the other directly derived from the traditions of the Jews.

Finally, in the high Middle Ages, under the impact of the renewed Christian contact with contemporary Jews, undertaken for a better understanding of the Bible,[73] the combined traditions burst forth into artistic representation. The artist of the *Bible of Nekcsei-Lipócz* (Fig. 4) hung his figure of the tortured Isaiah upon a branch cross as if to indicate that this symbol of the tree of life was alone capable of rendering the intimate connection that existed between him and the wood upon which he died. More clearly indebted to the tradition laid down in the Talmud was the artist who,

66. The possibility must, however, be conceded that the Talmud legend and the story in the *Vitae Prophetarum* may originally have been two entirely different traditions brought together by the chance fact that a sawing occurs in both. There is no way of proving that contention.

67. *Talmud Jebamoth* 49 b.

68. *Sanhedrin* 10:2.

69. *Fragm. Targum Is.* 66:1.

70. Ed. de Goeje, 1:644.

71. In "Histoire du roi Djemchid et des Divs," trans. by

S. Larionoff, *Journal Asiatique*, 8 me série, XIV, 1889, pp. 59-83. For the tradition of Yima, see H. Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland*, Halle, 1923, p. 334f.; and M. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and His World*, Princeton, 1947, I, p. 331.

72. Origen, *In Isaiam Homil.* 1:5; St. Jerome, *In Isaiam* 1:10; St. Isidore of Seville (?), *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum*, loc.cit.

73. Smalley, *op.cit.*, p. 241; Lutz and Perdrizet, *op.cit.*, p. 262.

under the guidance, no doubt, of a learned Dominican, illustrated the fourteenth century manuscript of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* in Karlsruhe (Fig. 11). Above a text derived from the *Vitae Prophetarum* he showed the prophet standing inside an opening in a tree and still accompanying his arguments with gestures although his death has been decreed and is imminent. Two men, under orders from Manasse, who is present, are preparing to stop him short by sawing him in two inside his arboreal refuge. The unity of the two traditions, ritualistic and mythological, could not be visualized more impressively than by this association of a miniature inspired by the Talmud with a text from the *Vitae Prophetarum*. A similar although less impressive representation of the sawing of Isaiah occurs in a Flemish manuscript of a world chronicle in the Library in Brussels (dated 1355) which shows Isaiah's body hemmed in by the narrow twin stems of a tree, so that his limbs and his head are both exposed to the cruel attentions of his executioners (Fig. 12).

IV

We have now finished our survey of the apocryphal tradition about Isaiah which we picked up in the Parisian Bibles of the thirteenth century, and which we carried into a dim and imperfectly known Semitic past. The discovery that the legend of Isaiah was part of a local cult connected with the early history of Jerusalem compels us to add to our findings a brief history of the tomb and of the tree that grew over it, as reflected in the thought of pilgrims and of other writers who saw them after the composition of our text.

Of these, a brief reference in *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* is the only Jewish mention extant. It declares merely that for reasons of ritual purity no burial should be permitted within the holy city of Jerusalem, except for the tombs already present of the house of David, of the prophetess Hulda, and of Isaiah.[74] The long list of Christian references opens with a statement by the pilgrim from Bordeaux which shows that by his time, in the beginning of the fourth century A.D., the topographical tradition so clearly told in the *Vitae Prophetarum* had begun to peter out. He identified[75] the tomb of Isaiah with one of the two monolithic monuments hewn out of the hillside east of the Kidron Valley which today go under the names of the tombs of Zachariah and of Absalom. He was not the only one to be thus misled. For when Antoninus Martyr from Piacenza undertook his trip to the Holy Land in the second part of the sixth century A.D.,[76] he was told that the saw by which Isaiah had been put to death was preserved in the tomb of Zachariah, while the place of the prophet's martyrdom was somewhere in the neighborhood. Even in the tenth or early eleventh century, an anonymous pilgrim[77] who left us a brief guide to the Holy places still located the tomb near the garden of Gethsemane, on the eastern rather than on the western side of the Kidron Valley.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, a change occurred which removed all previous error and uncertainty. The many pilgrims of the time of the Crusades who left written record of what they found in the Holy Land agree[78] in placing the tomb of Isaiah either near the pool of Siloam, or no more than a stone's throw away from it, or, at the most, close by what they call the fountain Rogel, the well Bir Eyub, which had been dug in the valley bottom in post-Biblical times. We are compelled to assume that this restoration of the ancient tradition to its rightful locality was effected by the crusaders themselves, who brought to Jerusalem their knowledge of the Isidorian prefaces and later also of Comestor's *Historia Scolastica*. They brought with them also their aware-

74. A. Buechler, "La pureté Levitique de Jerusalem et les tombeaux des prophètes," *Revue des Etudes Juives*, LXII/LXIII, 1911-1912, p. 203.
75. Geyer, *op.cit.*, p. 23.
76. *ibid.*, p. 180.
77. *Palestine Pilgrims Text Society*, London, 1896, VI, p. 2.

78. See, for instance, the fourth anonymous pilgrim (12th century or later), *ibid.*, p. 21; the fifth and sixth anonymous pilgrim (12th century), *ibid.*, pp. 25 and 73; "The Condition of the City of Jerusalem and of the Holy Places" (A.D. 1187), *ibid.*, p. 40. Fetellus (reproducing a guide for crusaders of about 1130), *ibid.*, p. 40; and John of Würzburg (shortly after 1200), *ibid.*, p. 50.

ness of the existence of Isaiah's tree, which some of them mentioned under the correct botanical name,[79] not without laying themselves open to the suspicion that they did so irrespective of whether they succeeded in discovering it at the appointed spot.

When, a few centuries later, the intellectual compulsion ceased to operate which in the Middle Ages subordinated sense evidence to the authority of the written word, Isaiah's tree revealed itself as not being an oak. The friar Felix Fabri, who came to the Holy Land in the fifteenth century, states with the candor of one accustomed to trust his own eyes, that to him the tree looked most like a lime tree.[80] His opinion was, however, not maintained by later writers, who agreed from the sixteenth century onward that it belonged to the species of the white mulberry.[81] A rather gnarled and twisted specimen of the latter is in fact still to be seen above the old pool of Siloam. Even today the pilgrim to Jerusalem is told, as of old, that the tree marks the locality where Isaiah suffered for the faith.[82]

It was Felix Fabri also who, in order to resolve the conflict between Scripture and sense evidence, was the first to point out that vegetation on Mount Moriah must have changed in the course of the millennia. Learned Dominican that he was, he had not forgotten that, according to the traditions of the Jews, Isaiah had been sawed in two in a cedar tree. He was compelled, therefore, to assume that the trunk which should have been a monument to Isaiah's death had rotted away, and been replaced by the tree which he himself had visited.

The last change to be recorded in the history of Isaiah's tomb involves its quality as a sanctuary, for writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth century tell us that by their time the place had taken on the characteristics of a Mohammedan shrine. Stephan Schulz,[83] who made the grand tour of the Orient between 1752 and 1756, claims that he saw an altar standing under the branches of the tree. And the Chevalier d'Arvieux,[84] who undertook the trip in 1660, relates that he saw the tree surrounded by a quadrangular platform upon which the "Turks" offered a prayer after having made an ablution in the Gîhon spring, for, as he says, they felt a great veneration for the place and regarded it as holy. In fact, when his curiosity led him to climb upon the platform for a close investigation of the sacred spot, a Derwish attacked the "infidel" with such fanaticism that he found it necessary to beat a hasty retreat.[85]

It is amusing to record in this connection that the present Mohammedan population of Jerusalem, oblivious of the ancient tradition attached to it, explains the periodicity of the Gîhon by saying that the spring used to be inhabited by an evil spirit in the form of a camel which stopped its flow by drinking up the water. That camel, we are told, is now dead, and has been replaced by chickens![86]

V

What remains to be said about the martyrdom of Isaiah and its effect upon the development of thought leads us into a historical area so central, solemn, and momentous, that this writer does

79. For instance, the sixth anonymous pilgrim and John of Würzburg; see note 78.
80. "The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri," Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, VIII, p. 530. See also H. F. M. Prescott, Friar Felix at Large, New Haven, 1950.
81. Vincent and Abel, op.cit., II, pt. 4, p. 860.
82. Meistermann, op.cit., p. 248.
83. St. Schulz, Reise durch einen Teil von Vorderasien, Aegypten und besonders durch Syrien vom Jahre 1752-1756, Halle, 1774.
84. Le Chevalier L. d'Arvieux, Mémoires contenantes ses voyages à Constantinople, dans l'Asie, la Syrie, la Palestine, l'Egypte et la Barbarie, Paris, 1735, II, p. 173.
85. Similarly, when in about 1880 C. Schick carried out the first excavations at the Siloam canal, the labors had to stop

short of the immediate vicinity of Isaiah's tree because the neighboring population would have resented the sacrilege. C. Schick, "Bericht über meine Arbeiten am Siloamkanal," Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestinavereins, 1882, p. 133.
86. T. Canaan, "Water and the Water of Life in Palestinian Superstition," Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, IX, 1929, p. 67; also T. Canaan, "Haunted Springs and Water Demons in Palestine," Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, I, 1920, pp. 155ff., where other contemporary explanations for the periodicity of springs are given. It is interesting to learn on p. 159 that the modern inhabitants of Bêtûnia in Palestine, whose spring tends to run dry from time to time, are not above sacrificing a sheep to the "soul" inhabiting it, in order to assure the continuity of their water supply.

not have the audacity to explore fully the possible implications of what he believes to have found. The reader is by now surely aware that the legend of the martyrdom of Isaiah has direct bearing upon our estimate of Christ's opinion about his prophetic forerunners and even of his own sense of mission. An adventurous historical theology may in fact try to discover significant analogies between the martyrdom of Isaiah, as here recounted, and the history of the Passion. Instead of attempting to penetrate where we would surely go astray, we shall limit ourselves to a few remarks about the most obvious allusions to the prophet's martyrdom in the New Testament, about the opinions held in regard to their meaning by some of the early fathers of the church, and about the possible effect of these opinions upon some phases of mediaeval art.

It must be conceded, in the first place, that the Gospels contain no direct reference to the martyrdom of Isaiah. What we have instead is the repeated assertion by Jesus himself that to be a prophet had always meant to endure persecution, possibly to the death; that such persecution had been inflicted upon his direct predecessors; and that he expected the pattern to repeat itself in his own life.[87] Jesus knew about the cult at the tombs of the prophets, and castigated the hypocrisy of those who build them "and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous, and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets." He let his sermon culminate in the famous outcry: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee."[88] It is reasonable to assume that prominent among those who, to paraphrase Jesus' words, had given their life for the Truth between the time of Abel and of Zachariah the son of Barachiah, was Isaiah, himself a native of Jerusalem, who had been killed just outside the city walls. The same observation holds for the so-called Parable of the Vineyard,[89] in which Jesus treats of his own Passion and of its relation to the death of his forerunners under the image of a landowner who sent first his servants and finally his own beloved son to the disobedient tenants, only to find that every one of his emissaries was slain.

Most suggestive of all is Jesus' statement in Luke,[90] coupled with a version of the above-mentioned harangue against Jerusalem, that he will have to go on his way to the capital because "it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem." It will be noted, that here, for once, in connection with his own impending death, Jesus refers to himself as a prophet, thus making an intimate connection between himself and the witnesses of God who had gone before him. Apart from the story of the otherwise unknown Zachariah ben Barachiah, the only memory of outstanding historical precedent that could have helped to harden Jesus' determination to face his death in Jerusalem was that of the martyrdom of Isaiah, the sole Scriptural prophet said to have met his fate in that town. Of the others, according to the *Vitae Prophetarum*, Amos was murdered in Bethel, Micah in or near Samariah, and Jeremiah in faraway Taphnai, Egypt.[91]

The memory of Isaiah's death, only implied in the Gospels (and in related passages in the Acts[92] and in the Epistles[93]), comes into the open in the Epistle to the Hebrews,[94] where we are informed that the just who had preceded Christ had not only been stoned, tempted, and slain with the sword, but also "sawn asunder": a statement which has been universally accepted since the days of Origen[95]

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87. Regarding this aspect of Christ's consciousness of himself, see, among many others, the following recent contributions: C. H. Dodd, "Jesus as Teacher and Prophet," *Mysterium Christi*, ed. by G. K. A. Bell and A. Deissmann, New York, 1939; R. Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum neuen Testament*, IV, pp. 477-512; P. E. Davis, "Jesus and the Role of the Prophet," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1945, p. 241; F. W. Young, "Jesus the Prophet, a Re-examination," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1949, p. 285.
88. Matthew 23:28-37. See also Luke 11:50-51 and 13:34.
89. Matthew 21:33.
90. Luke 13:33.
91. The Scriptural prophets were, however, not the only persons thus named who were believed to have undergone martyrdom, for late Jewish literature had a tendency to ex-

tend the term "prophet" to patriarchs, kings, and other figures from the Old Testament, and at the same time to make of prophets potential martyrs. It would be wrong, therefore, to treat the martyrdom of Isaiah as if it had been the only possible influence of its kind upon Jesus' mind. We insist only that it was one of the most important. See H. A. Fischel, "Martyr and Prophet," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XXXVII, 1946-47, p. 265, containing a very comprehensive list of Jewish martyrs. See also H. Delehay, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, Paris, 1933; and H. W. Surkau, *Martyrien in jüdischer und frühchristlicher Zeit*, Leipzig, 1938.
92. Acts 7:52, St. Stephen's sermon prior to his martyrdom.
93. 1 Thessal. 2:15; James 5:10.
94. Hebrews 11:37.
95. *Letter to Africanus* 9.

as referring to Isaiah's martyrdom. From then on, in the writings by the fathers of the church, the knowledge of the martyrdom of Isaiah was to become common property: Justin the Martyr,[96] Origen,[97] Tertullian,[98] and after them St. Ambrose,[99] St. Jerome,[100] and Lactantius[101] refer to it, usually with the express understanding that the tradition is of Jewish origin. In fact, its apocryphal character and its absence from the canonical writings of the Old Testament caused the accusation, first uttered by Justin the Martyr,[102] that the Jews had been guilty of deleting the literary evidence of their own crime, in order to hide its obvious resemblance to and bearing upon the history of the Passion. To Justin, Isaiah was a mysterious prototype of Christ who rent the Jewish nation in two, as Isaiah had been sawed asunder with a wooden saw.

Origen repeats Justin's accusation that the tradition about the death of Isaiah had been tampered with, and charges in his *Letter to Africanus*[103] that the text relating to Isaiah's death (the *Ascension of Isaiah?*) had been deliberately loaded with implausible passages in order to diminish its credibility. The Jewish rulers and elders, so he claims, had attempted to suppress all records of the martyrdom of the prophets in order to evade the responsibility for what they had done. Aware of the fact that Jesus' sermon against Jerusalem and the accusation contained therein had no correlate in the Old Testament, Origen concluded that the evidence, of which traces were still discernible in apocryphal literature, had been spoiled. Accordingly, he collected in his *Commentary to Matthew*[104] the passages from the Gospels, the Epistles, and the Acts which refer to the violent death of God's witnesses prior to the coming of Christ, and illustrated them with the tales about the martyrdom of Zachariah ben Barachiah and Isaiah, the only occurrences of the kind of which he was aware; for, as he says, "It behooves us to explain Christ's words from the secret books in circulation among the Jews, and not only Christ's, but also St. Paul's" (to whom, with due diffidence, he attributes the Epistle to the Hebrews).

Thus, at the moment when the need began to be felt of passing from the mere acceptance of the Gospels to a reasoned and intelligent understanding of their texts, the tradition about the death of Isaiah was brought out of its apocryphal obscurity and given the status of a historical fact. We are not in a position to say whether Origen's interpretation, burdened as it was with his reputation as a heretic, was to receive much following in later centuries. We can add, however, that the Parable of the Vineyard, which Origen failed to include in his list of New Testament passages, was given an interpretation parallel to ours by St. Ambrose,[105] who assigned the role of the emissaries slain in the service of their overlord to Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Naboth (himself an owner of a vineyard who was killed to satisfy the thirst for land of an unscrupulous tyrant). It is interesting to record, in this connection and in the light of the traditions from which this paper took its start, that the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*,[106] written in the fourteenth century, still contains St. Ambrose's reading of the parable, but amplifies it by recourse to the stories about the prophets' martyrdom contained in the *Vitae Prophetarum*.

We shall end by casting a parting glance at the few representations in art of the martyrdom of Isaiah which betray the influence of theological thought by the manner in which they are inserted into a cycle illustrating a common principle. Only two such representations come to mind. One of these, the fresco in El Bagawat in Egypt,[107] shows Isaiah's martyrdom in the midst of the scenes of salvation from imminent peril which were so dear to early Christian art: Jonah and the whale are seen to the right, to the left the three Hebrews in the flaming furnace, and above the miraculous passage of the Hebrews through the Red Sea. Since Isaiah was, after all, not saved from the fate

96. *Contra Tryphonem* 120.
97. See notes 72 and 95.
98. *De Patientia*, Patrol. Lat., I, col. 1270.
99. See note 15.
100. See notes 21 and 72.
101. *Divinae Institutiones* 1:9, Patrol. Lat., VI, col. 477.
102. See note 96.
103. See note 95.

104. *Commentarium in Matthaeum* 23:37; vol. XI of the works of Origen brought out by the *Kirchenväterkommission*, Leipzig, 1933.
105. *Exposition Evangelii secundum Lucam*, Patrol. Lat., XV, col. 1800.
106. Chapter 22:83, Lutz and Perdrizet, *op.cit.*, p. 47.
107. See note 12.

of being sawed in two, it seems likely that the picture alludes to God's gift of water to him to alleviate his torture.[108]

In the chapter house in Brauweiler[109] the martyrdom of Isaiah has become part of a large scriptural cycle illustrating the Epistle to the Hebrews word by word, by showing the personalities to whom it was believed to refer. Assembled around the triumphant half-figure of Christ which dominates them all, we see scenes of martyrdom from the times of the New and of the Ancient Covenant. Isaiah appears in the company of such figures from the Old Testament as Abel, Isaac, and the three youths in the fiery furnace, all looked upon at the time as living prefigurations of the Greater one who was to come after them. It is our contention that none of them has as good a claim to having lived the Passion in advance as the figure of the martyr who is said to have suffered a prophet's fate in Jerusalem by dying in or under the tree of life.

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108. It would not seem likely that the inclusion of Isaiah's martyrdom in a cycle illustrating salvation from danger would refer to his vision prior to his death, as recounted in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, since all the other examples in the fresco refer to God's help to persons in distress by miraculous but purely physical means. I omit discussion of the difficult question whether the frescos in El Bagawat reflect an earlier Jewish cycle containing similar subject matter.

109. See note 9.

A STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE CLOISTER OF MONREALE[1]

CARL D. SHEPPARD, JR.

THE complexity of the stylistic problems posed by the sculptures in the cloister of Monreale has been emphasized through the many brief comments art historians have made concerning them. General connections have been noted between Monreale and sculpture in Provence or Languedoc, the Ile de France, and Burgundy;[2] relations have been noted to Islamic art,[3] to the Byzantine tradition,[4] and to specific monuments in Campania,[5] Apulia,[6] Tuscany,[7] and Lombardy.[8] Unraveling the welter of these stylistic strains is made difficult by the dates accepted for Monreale by different historians, ranging from the last quarter of the twelfth through the thirteenth century. A stylistic analysis of the cloister sculpture, however, presents evidence for a single dating of the monument and clarifies as well the rather heterogeneous mixture of styles.

Examination of the capitals on the basis of architectural conception and carving technique reveals some five major groupings. Each group shows a definite numerical preference for a certain type of acanthus leaf as well as a particular kind of molding on the abacus or impost blocks. In each category, however, are occasionally found different acanthus types or impost and abacus motifs. Unless each of the categories was being executed simultaneously with all the others, there is no explanation for the pronounced exchange of motifs among them. A typical example is the southeast quadrilobed capital on which appear figures of the Chartrain style and acanthus leaves of the Campanian school.

The work in the cloister appears to have been carried out sometime between 1172 and 1189[9] on the bases of documentary evidence. In spite of this, the architectural details of the cloister caused a lengthy debate among nineteenth century historians as to the date of the monument. Some claimed the cloister originated in the sixth century at the time of St. Benedict himself.[10] The discussion arose from the fact that the junctions of the capitals and the arches along the four walks are particularly awkward. A prominent rib forms the intrados of each arch, ten inches in diameter with a two-inch hole in the center. These ribs project five inches beyond the impost blocks of the capitals. The opening suggests the jointing of another block, now removed, which would have continued the rib downwards. Evidently this ungainly arrangement did not bother the Normans. The cloister of SS. Trinità at Palermo, known also as the Magione, has exactly the same peculiarity.[11] Many other instances of awkward structural and decorative organization can be found in Norman architecture in Sicily and southern Italy. A particularly glaring example occurs in the sanctuary of the

1. This essay is a sequel to "Iconography of the Cloister of Monreale," ART BULLETIN, XXXI, 1949, pp. 159-169. Further research, particularly on the problem of the stylistic relation of Monreale to monuments in Campania, was made possible by a Faculty Research Grant from the Horace H. Rackham Foundation of the University of Michigan.

2. C. R. Morey, *Mediaeval Art*, New York, 1942, p. 225; and P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana, Il medioevo*, Turin, 1927, p. 875.

3. F. V. Allmayer, "Gli Arabi e l'arte in Sicilia," *Rassegna d'arte*, III, 1908, p. 78.

4. H. Pierce and R. Tyler, "A Marble Emperor Roundel of the Twelfth Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, II, 1941, pp. 1-11.

5. Toesca, *op.cit.*

6. A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, III, Milan, 1904,

pp. 622ff.

7. M. Salmi, *Romanesque Sculpture in Tuscany*, Florence, 1928, p. 109; and Venturi, *op.cit.*

8. Venturi, *op.cit.*

9. C. D. Sheppard, Jr., "Monreale and Chartres," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, June 1949, pp. 402-404.

10. D. Gravina, *Il Duomo di Monreale*, Palermo, 1854; C. Boito, *Architettura del medioevo in Italia*, Milan, 1880, pp. 84-114; and D. Salazaro, *Studi sui monumenti della Italia meridionale*, Naples, 1880, p. 60.

11. F. Valenti, "L'arte nell'era Normanna," *Il Regno Normanno*, Biblioteca Storia Principato XVI, Conferenze tenute in Palermo per l'VIII Centenario dell'incoronazione di Ruggero a Re di Sicilia, Messina, 1932, pp. 197-251, and pl. XXXVII.

cathedral of Caserta Vecchia (Fig. 1)[12] where ribbed vaulting is used to cover the space. The ribs rest directly on reused Roman ionic capitals, some of whose bolsters are set parallel to the wall. It will be recognized that in both the sanctuary of Caserta Vecchia and the cloister of Monreale a system of Gothic vaulting has been combined with elements of Roman construction. The two methods have been simply juxtaposed with no attempt at a co-ordination of detail. Architecturally, there is no reason to doubt that the cloister was the result of a single campaign.

Although there are many different sculptural styles in the cloister, the great majority of the carvings derive from a single tradition. Workmen skilled in this manner were evidently imported to Palermo by William II from the Norman domain on the mainland. The classicizing style of Campania did not appear in Sicily before Monreale was constructed.[13] Indeed, outside of the cathedral group, there are only a few isolated examples of the style.[14] Norman churches and palaces before William's time have sculptures related generally to one of two styles, Norman French as in the nave of Cefalù, or Arabic as in the palace of La Ziza at Palermo. After William's rule, there was little building on a monumental scale until Frederic II ordered fortified castles constructed at strategic locations such as Syracuse, but these buildings show no trace of the classical quality of the decorations at William's monastery. While Monreale can be considered as an isolated example of the style which had developed on the eastern shores of the Tyrrhenian sea, it is the largest ensemble of that style and illustrates the maturity and subtlety the style reached in the last quarter of the twelfth century.

The characteristics of the Campanian style which differentiate it from other Romanesque modes of expression are pronouncedly classic. The monuments are not, of course, classical in the sense of Roman, Greek, and Renaissance sculptures. There is a very apparent lack of anatomical knowledge evidenced on the part of the Campanian sculptors and there is no sign that they derived any assistance from an observation of nature. They were primarily copyists who made use of any antique motif which could easily be found. They endeavored to render their prototypes plastically through modeling the surfaces, preferred symmetry in composition, and used neutral space to emphasize the motifs selected. At Monreale the repertory of decorative elements of classic origin consists of those motifs, both pagan and Christian, which were current during the third and fourth centuries A.D. It almost seems as if there were a conscious effort to revive the art of the Early Christian period. The classicism which results is neither archeological nor profoundly intellectual. The nostalgia of the Renaissance for things ancient is not present, nor is the classical idealization of material reality. Only motifs and techniques were borrowed and both were adapted to a Romanesque point of view.

Although it can be characterized as classical in terms of its sculpture, the cloister of Monreale is a monument of the Romanesque style. The lessons of visual realism learned from the antique taught the sculptors to handle their medium with a high degree of subtlety, but it did not hinder them from applying their craft with inventiveness and imagination. The design which was responsible for the uniformity of the cloister and which dominated the various styles present was typical of the period which created it. Instead of single columns, paired colonnettes with twin capitals were placed around the court. The capitals were treated as units of a single composition, trapezoidal in

12. Toesca, *op.cit.*, p. 595 and p. 669, n. 79. The cathedral of Caserta Vecchia was consecrated in 1153. There is no documentation for the area of the sanctuary which is usually dated well into the thirteenth century.

13. C. D. Sheppard, Jr., "A Chronology of Romanesque Sculpture in Campania," ART BULLETIN, XXXII, 1950, pp. 319-326.

14. There are several capitals at Cefalù which belong to this style. The date of the cathedral of Cefalù and its cloister has never been firmly established. At present the relation of the sculptures to those of Monreale can only be suggested by use of stylistic evidence which is not sufficient to determine whether Cefalù is earlier than, contemporary with, or later than Monreale. The close connection between the two monuments is emphasized by the fact that all the styles which appear at Cefalù are present at Monreale. There are, however, several styles at Monreale which are not at Cefalù. The latter is being restored at present. Perhaps new evidence will be found to solve this complicated problem. The most recent and exhaustive treatment of Cefalù is: H. M. Schwarz, "Die Baukunst Kalabriens und Siziliens im Zeitalter der Normannen, Teil I: Die Lateinischen Kirchengründungen des 11. Jahrhunderts und der Dom in Cefalù," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 1942-44, pp. 1-112. I am indebted to Dr. Wilhelm Koehler for bringing this to my attention.
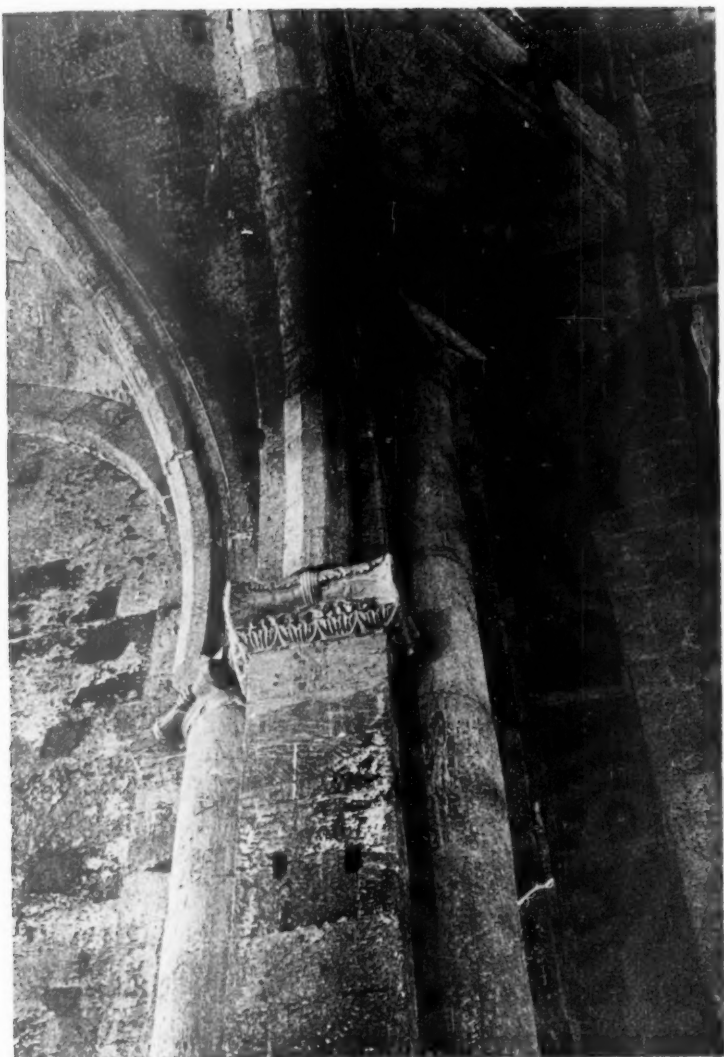
1. Caserta Vecchia, cathedral: detail of vaulting in sanctuary

2. Monreale, cloister: capitals 73

3. Monreale, cloister: capitals 91
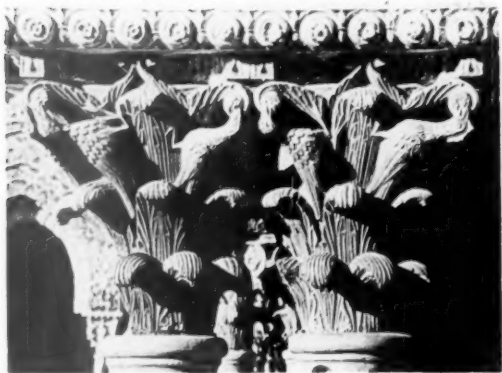
4. Monreale, cloister: capitals 30

5. Monreale, cloister: capitals 17

6. Monreale, cloister: fountainhead

7. Monreale, cloister: capitals 18

8. Monreale, cloister: capitals 32

9. Monreale, cloister: capitals 65

10. Monreale, cloister: capitals 6

11. Monreale, cloister: capitals 80
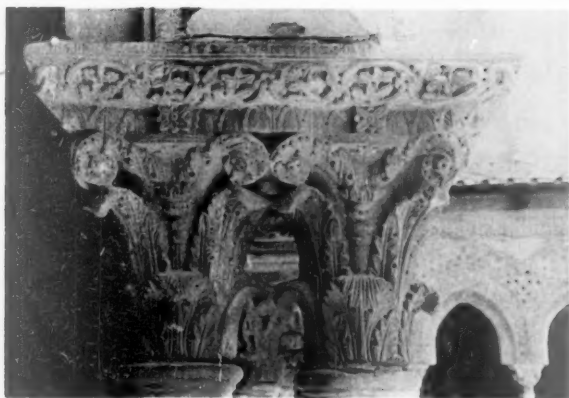
12. Monreale, cloister: capitals 98

13. Monreale, cloister: detail of northwest quadrilobe shafts

14. Monreale, cloister: capitals 67

shape, relatively tall in proportion. The trapezoid included not only the capital but an abacus and an impost block as well. In a completely non-classical way, these two latter elements occupied about a third of the total area and had no architectural function. The top of the impost block marked the upper limit of the design and established a definite plane which, if extended downward and inward to the bases of the capitals, would mark the amount of projection of the sculptural relief. A second plane was established by the surfaces of the capitals themselves and of the abacus blocks above. Between these imaginary planes the relief existed almost as if it were developed across a flat surface. The convex masses of the capitals were composed in relation to the triangular voids between them and contrasted to the concave sections of the abacus block immediately above. In order to prevent these concave sections from being too prominent, a small three-dimensional motif was always placed at the point of deepest recession. Throughout the compositions there was a constant interplay between solid and void, light and dark, projection and recession, line and area. The modeling employed, even in the most classical examples, was relatively simple, the block of the mass being thereby emphasized. All the elements of decoration—acanthus leaves, human figures, monsters, beasts, flowers, and vine tendrils—were placed against the basic shapes to heighten the effects of contrast. They were also subordinated to their positions in the over-all design, elongated or constricted, twisted or straightened, as the case may be. The prevalence of this conception of sculptural procedure coordinated the work of the cloister regardless of its particular derivation. The result is a superb display of original creativity and technical dexterity which is comparable to the best Romanesque monuments elsewhere in Europe.

The stylistic connection between some of the cloister sculptures and monuments on the mainland in Campania has been pointed out so frequently that a detailed discussion is not needed to prove the fact. The closest relationship exists between capitals 26 and 42 of the cloister[15] and two marble plaques in the chapel of Sta. Restituta, Naples. Iconographically the capitals and the plaques are also similar. The capitals and other decoration of the pulpits of the cathedral of Salerno (1153-1181 and 1175) and the capitals and relief figures on the west side of the pulpit in the cathedral of Sessa Aurunca are the prototypes of a large group of sculptures in the cloister. The capitals in each instance are based on Roman Corinthian or composite designs, with two rows of four soft acanthus leaves. Human figures or monsters are used as decoration, occasionally displaced by vine tendrils, candelabra, and flowers. A relatively rare design of wind-blown soft acanthus leaves appears on some of the capitals of the pulpits as well as in the cloister, the best example of the latter being capitals 73 (Fig. 2). This type is not found in Byzantine art nor in the areas affected by that tradition. S. Marco, Venice, has capitals of a spiny acanthus twisted angularly into a fairly tight sheath. Similar designs of an earlier date can be found at St. Demetrius, Salonika. The Campanian type is quite distinct from the Byzantine in its plastic qualities. The only example outside Campania and Sicily which is comparable belongs to a monument from Palestine.[16]

Although many of the classical elements of the cloister's decoration were derived from monuments of the Campanian style, the sculptors at Monreale had access to other traditions and artistic sources in which some classicism was found. Certain classical motifs in the cloister represent a survival of antique themes through Christian times. The calf-bearer on capitals 40 is such an example. A more interesting survival is that of the Mithras figure on capitals 71. There are many instances of naked putti, capitals 91 (Fig. 3), 74, 51, and 4; of dancing women, the fountainhead, the southeast and northeast quadrilobed shafts; and of the Vendemmia theme, capitals 60, 55, and the southwest quadrilobed shafts.

In order to find some of the many motifs which they used, the sculptors of Monreale turned to

15. Sheppard, "Iconography of the Cloister of Monreale" (see note 1). All references to capitals are based on the plan of the cloister, p. 161.

16. P. Deschamps, "La sculpture française en Palestine et Syrie à l'époque des Croisades," *Monuments et Mémoires* (Fondation E. Piot), XXXI, Paris, 1930, pp. 90-118, fig. 12. Two capitals from El-Atroun, Jerusalem, now in the Ottoman Museum, Istambul.

the group of ivory boxes known as the rosette caskets. These boxes were produced from the ninth through the twelfth century, probably at Byzantium.[17] It is significant that this type of carving was preferred to that of a large series of ivory boxes manufactured at this time at Palermo itself in the Arabic manner,[18] as well as to another series identified as Italo-Byzantine, whose provenance might be Palermo but was more probably Venice.[19] The rosette caskets clearly reveal the use of prototypes from the late antique period. They were commonly decorated with pagan scenes showing an insouciant disregard for correct mythology. Figures were separated from their proper contexts and appear meaninglessly in individual panels or were juxtaposed without regard to the action involved. The most common decorative motif of these boxes is a molding consisting of a series of rosettes separated by darts. Only a few instances of the use of this motif other than on the boxes have been observed. It occurs on a pluteus in the cathedral of Torcello, on a doorway of the cathedral of Toscanella, and on the lintel of the south portal of the Monastery of St. Peter at Moissac. There can be no question but that the motif was copied in the cloister from these caskets. It appears on the impost block of capitals 30 (Fig. 4).

Ivory boxes of the rosette type were in Palermo in the late twelfth century and the Cappella Palatina still conserves one in its treasury.[20] One is also in the possession of the monastery at La Cava.[21] Although the rosette occurs only once in the cloister, another motif was adapted from the caskets. As in the example at La Cava, many of the boxes alternate rosettes with human heads in profile. The latter are of a peculiar type, rather gross and fat with a long aquiline nose, short curly hair, and unbearded face. These flaccid facial types are found on capitals 17 (Fig. 5). Acanthus meanders enclose the profiles as if they were medallions, just as in the ivory caskets. The acanthus meander and the vine leaf meander that appear on many of the cloister capitals are also found on the rosette caskets. The Cambridge casket in the Fitzwilliam Museum is decorated with a vine meander that is comparable to that on the impost blocks of capitals 76 and 17. It is not necessary, however, to derive this meander from the ivory caskets, since it is used on the narrow impost block of one of the Roman capitals on the north colonnade of the nave at Monreale, as well as in the mosaics of the cathedral. The motif never actually disappeared after classic times. Motifs of a similar nature were carved on the colonnettes supporting the northeast, southeast, and southwest quadrilobed capitals. Already discussed as evidence of the great skill achieved by sculptors of the Campanian style in the late twelfth century,[22] these shafts might be mistaken for Roman work of the Hadrianic or Augustan periods.

The same men who executed these sculptures did the fountainhead of the cloister (Fig. 6). The shaft supporting the rounded bowl shape is carved deeply with a Norman chevron motif. The top of the fountainhead itself is covered with acanthus leaves; immediately below are alternate bearded human faces and lion heads from which jets of water pour. Beneath these is depicted a classic dithyrambic dance. Women in long clinging garments, some uncovered to the waist, move in rhythm to the music of male pipers.

Other capitals in the cloister show similar excellence of technique and correctness in the adaptation of an early model. Such are capitals 18 (Fig. 7), signed EGO ROMANUS FILIUS COSTANTINUS MARMURIUS. The execution of these capitals is nearer to Campanian monuments than the quadrilobed shafts because of the clear use of the drill and because of the linear quality of the execution. Probably the prototype was from a later Roman period than those used for the reliefs discussed above. Capitals closely related to number 18 are 88, 81, 70, 68, 66, 45, 29, and 24. The inscription naming the

17. H. Graeven, *Frühchristliche und mittelalterliche Elfenbeinwerke in photographischer Nachbildung*, Rome, 1898-1900; and A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1934.

18. P. B. Cott, *Siculo-Arabic Ivories*, Princeton, 1939.

19. A. S. Keck, "A Group of Italo-Byzantine Ivories," ART BULLETIN, XII, 1930, pp. 147-162.

20. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op.cit.*, fig.34.

21. *ibid.*, pl. II and pp. 24-25.

22. Sheppard, "A Chronology . . ." (see note 13), p. 323.

sculptor of capitals 18 as Romanus has led to many theories concerning his origin and his importance at Monreale. Domenico Salazaro ascribed the whole cloister to him.[23] No documents have survived which give any information concerning him, but one does mention Constantinus, who gave his estate to the church of the Magione and joined the Teutonic Order in 1202. The document identifies him as *Constantinus dictus marmorarius, frater olim magistri Simonis marmorarii, de civitate Panormi*.[24] The Constantinus mentioned might be the Costantinus of the Monreale inscription and the father of Romanus, but there is no proof. It has been suggested on the other hand that Constantinus and Simon might have been sons of the Monreale Romanus. In any case, the coincidence of names and profession suggests that there was a family of sculptors or stonecutters to which all three belonged.

There are other large groups of capitals in the cloister that, so far as motifs are concerned, are quite as classical as those signed by Romanus. Each differs in proficiency and technique, choice of motif and design. One of these can be typified by capitals 32, decorated with angels, or adolescents with wings, carrying bundles of wheat over their shoulders (Fig. 8). Capitals with similar elements are 96, 86, 84, 83, 79, 65, 64, and 35. These sculptures show the use of a drill technique as does the Romanus group, but much more emphatically, and the linear quality of their decoration is even more noticeable since the relief is flatter. There are few sharp points and ridges, so the result is soft in feeling. In this group the human figure is very important as a decorative feature, being handled with a great deal of freedom which sometimes borders on the quaint or ludicrous (Fig. 9), but which always results in a superb design.

In addition to the artistic sources and derivations mentioned, the sculptors of the cloister adapted elements of another medium and style to their needs. The capitals decorated with scenes from the Old and New Testament such as the *Story of Noah*, capitals 94, the *Story of Jacob*, capitals 100, the *Nativity* series on the northeast quadrilobed capital, and the *Holy Women at the Sepulchre*, capitals 48, are related to the mosaics of the cathedral of Monreale by iconography as well as by style. It is not pertinent here to discuss in detail the development of the great mosaic cycles of Cefalù, the Martorana, the Cappella Palatina, and Monreale. It is sufficient to note that the last cycle, at Monreale, does not follow the strictly linear tendencies of the earlier mosaics and has exaggerated the traditional stylizations into ornamental patterns.[25]

These peculiar stylizations of the mosaics are most emphatic in the episodes of the Old Testament in the lower register on the nave walls. The garments of the figures make patterns over the bodies out of concentric circles, each of which is only partially inscribed. Broad areas such as chest, stomach, and buttocks are treated in this manner, as well as joints, shoulders, and elbows. In the scene of the *Building of the Ark*, this stereotyped manner of representation is especially noticeable in the figures of the workmen. The effect is one of restlessness and motion. A detail of this conventional treatment of drapery is exemplified by the tunic of Noah's son who stands on the left. The folds form a "V" between the legs and describe an oval on the left thigh, a triangle on the right. The bottom edge of the garment has a border of irregular zigzags. This treatment is almost duplicated in bas-relief on capitals 94 decorated with the same Noah stories. Compare the workman who hands a stone block to the mason on the Tower of Babel with the son of Noah in the mosaic. The conventions are similar; areas inscribed in circles, the "V" between the legs, and the zigzag border. The correlation between the sculpture and the mosaics is extremely close. Although the media differ, the figures of each show a restlessness of energy and movement. This is a development toward the Romanesque, away from the quietude of the scenes at the Martorana and the Cappella Palatina. The change has been frequently alluded to by historians as a disintegration of the pure Byzantine style of the earlier cycles. While this is quite true, one of the reasons for the

23. See above, note 10.

24. V. di Giovanni, *La topografia antica di Palermo del secolo X al XV*, Palermo, 1898-90, II, p. 263.

25. V. Lazareff, "The Mosaics of Cefalù," ART BULLETIN, XVII, 1935, pp. 184-232.

change in the Byzantine manner was certainly the impact of the style imported from Campania.[26]

Another extensive series of capitals includes numbers 95, 89, 87, 21, 19, 11, 6, and 2 (Fig. 10). These are the plainest of the cloister and among the best from the point of view of architectural conception. Each has two rows of four acanthus leaves arranged in alternation. They rise to two-thirds the full height of the capital and their tips project slightly. The outer tips of the upper row support four-legged animals, lions, antelopes, and monsters. Those of the lower row form a plane upon which stand single human figures in frontal positions. The figure elements are perhaps purely decorative, having no recognizable symbolic meaning, and are subordinated to the strong structural shape of the composition. Each portion of the capital and each motif of the decoration has its own typical position. There is no confusion or overlapping of elements of the design.

Two other works of sculpture are connected with the cathedral besides the cloister. They are the bronze doors at the west and north entrances to the church. The pair on the west façade was executed by Bonnanus of Pisa about 1186. Comparing the reliefs of this door with capitals 93 in the cloister, Mario Salmi[27] deduced that Bonnanus actually worked at Monreale and that when he returned to Pisa a group of sculptors followed him. Unfortunately, the bronze doors with their abstract little figures have no demonstrable connection with the cloister, nor can any influence on Pisan sculpture be traced to Monreale. The marble frame of the doors shows, on the contrary, many points of similarity with capitals in the cloister, as do the north doors made by Barisanus of Trani. The latter's work in its plastic treatment and plausible articulation of the human figure is not far removed from the capitals of the Noah group, which is not surprising since Barisanus' style derived from the same source as the Noah capitals, the art of Campania.

One of the puzzling features of the cloister is that the marked iconographic dependence on Lombardy, particularly Verona, is not paralleled by an equally strong stylistic dependence. Although Luigi Biagi[28] recognized the clear resemblance of the figures on capitals 60 to those of the *Labors of the Months* at San Zeno, Verona, this undeniable similarity does not occur again in the cloister. The style of the San Zeno *Labors* is that of Niccolò, whose manner flourished until the middle of the twelfth century. When Monreale was built, the current style in Lombardy was Antelami's. Not a trace of influence from the work of this master can be identified in the cloister. Another style, which was penetrating Lombardy from Venice[29] in the late twelfth century and was responsible for such monuments as the baptismal font of San Giovanni in Fonte, Verona, and the reliquary of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, in the Museo Antiquario al Filarmonico, Verona, dated 1179 by inscription,[30] might have had some effect at Monreale. It is not necessary, however, to make Verona and Venice intermediaries between Byzantium and Monreale, since historically there were numerous contacts between the latter two, to say nothing of the possible influence exerted on the cloister sculptors by the procedures of the nearby mosaicists. Capitals 82 and 80 (Fig. 11) of the cloister most clearly show this manner.

The influence of another region on the cloister, the Ile de France, can be clearly recognized in the southwest quadrilobed capital.[31] Scenes of *Pentecost, Presentation in the Temple*, and *Flight into Egypt* are presented in the Chartrain style. The figures of the southeast quadrilobed capital show the same affinity to the "*Portail Royal*" as do those of capitals 13 with the *Story of John the Baptist*. Capitals 98 (Fig. 12), 59, 34, 28, and 26 have motifs of Norman and Ile de France Romanesque sculpture.

A much larger group of capitals, including twenty-eight pairs and the colonnettes supporting the

26. O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London, 1949, pp. 418ff. Demus is of the opinion that the change of style in the mosaics is the result of a new Byzantine influence.

27. Salmi, *op.cit.*, p. 57 and p. 109.

28. L. Biagi, "Nel chiostro di Monreale," *L'arte*, November 1931, pp. 468-485, fig. 12.

29. T. Krautheimer-Hess, "Die Figurale Plastik der Ostlom-
bardei von 1000 bis 1178," *Marburger Jahrbuch*, 1928, pp. 284ff.

30. Venturi, *op.cit.*, p. 226; and H. von der Gabelentz, *Mittelalterliche Plastik in Venedig*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 145-146.

31. Sheppard, "Monreale and Chartres" (see note 9), pp. 406-414.

northwest quadrilobed capital (Fig. 13), is related neither to the Chartrain, the late Byzantine, nor the Campanian style. These sculptures represent the cultural traditions of the island under Arabic and provincial Byzantine influence. In a sense they show the continuation of local sculptural work. The human figure does not appear on these capitals, for the decorative motifs are restricted to birds, lions, or beasts, a type of winged serpent (Fig. 14), and acanthus leaves. These elements are developed as rigidly symmetrical flat patterns executed in a few well-defined planes which keep the design close to the block of the capital. The hieratic character of the designs and flat technique of this sculpture are common both to Arabic and Byzantine work. In Sicily, where these two artistic currents exist side by side, it is often impossible to determine a single origin for work of this style.

In spite of the cosmopolitan quality of the cloister at Monreale, it has a unified expression imparted by the Campanian tradition of sculpture. This style can be seen as one facet of the cultural development of southern Italy: a development activated for religious reasons perhaps by the Abbot Desiderius at Monte Cassino in the eleventh century,[32] cultivated for political purposes by the Normans during the twelfth,[33] and brought to an untimely end at the death of Frederick II in the thirteenth century. Invariably, a revival movement partakes only partially of the ideal it attempts to resurrect, obligated as it is to use contemporary tools and techniques. The pristine age of Christian art inspired a remarkable movement in southern Italy during the Romanesque period, but it should not be labeled a Renaissance or even a "proto"-Renaissance. No artistic Renaissance could develop on the basis of Early Christian architecture, eleventh century Byzantine mural decoration, and late antique sculpture. In this context, the cloister of Monreale is a remarkable achievement, produced by men of notable originality who wrought an artistic unit despite the conflicting styles in which they worked.

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32. H. Block, "Monte Cassino, Byzantium, and the West in the Earlier Middle Ages," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, III, 1946, p. 196; and Werner Weisbach, *Religiöse Reform und mittelalterliche Kunst*, Zürich, 1945, pp. 60-61.

33. C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, 2d ed., Cambridge, 1927 (particularly chapter IX); and F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, Paris, 1907, p. 259.

NOTES

GIOTTO: TWO PROBLEMS IN THE ORIGIN OF HIS STYLE

ALBERT BUSH-BROWN

There is a notion still found in some writings on Italian art that Giotto began his artistic training in the matrix of a Greek, that is, Italo-Byzantine, style and content and that he changed these, virtually single-handedly, from Greek into Latin—into Italo-Gothic style and content. Few of us can believe that he emerged from the Italo-Byzantine chrysalis immediately into his developed Paduan style, but his early work, his artistic growth before the Paduan period, is very problematical. What I propose to investigate in this paper are two highly important sources of Giotto's development, namely late Roman and thirteenth century Italian sculpture, and by studying two very concrete instances of Giotto's use of sculptured reliefs to point out some of the processes by which Giotto created the new style; the examination is limited to one work, to the *Pietà* in the Arena Chapel at Padua (Detail: Fig. 2*).

Giotto's great painting of the *Pietà* is suffused with the whole range of tragic emotion, showing those who came only to observe as well as those who are actively frustrated by the seeming finality and the certain brutality of this death. Mary sobs; John, Christ's favorite, is in such agony that he flails his anguished arms outward and backward in complete loss and despair while the tumultuous, twisting angels shriek above him and thrash the air in inconsolable grief. The emotional spirit which is represented here, a new intensifying of the Christian religious experience, is seen in all the Franciscan literature and painting of this period, and this emotional fervor demanded a more natural style in art as well as a new content.[1] With Giotto the activities of figures as well as the space in which they occur become more visually convincing.

Giotto invented several powerful methods to ensure visualization of a more natural space and more natural figures. Two of these innovations, emotionally as well as spatially effective, occur in the *Pietà*. So far as we know, this is the first scene in the history of painting which has a figure gesticulating as John does here, a pose which is remarkable among Giotto's figures for its strong elements of contortion. The other great dramatic innovation is that of the two anonymous women whose shapeless, mourning backs alone are presented as a barrier in front of the main figures, a magnificent departure from previous, traditional inscenation which displayed the main scene immediately with the figures generally in frontal poses (Fig. 6).[2]

Usually the figure of John in the *Pietà* stands quietly at the end of the sarcophagus upon which Christ is laid, or at his feet if he is on the ground, or else he stands on the far side of Christ and leans over to kiss his hand.[3] Giotto, however, does not here allow John to touch Christ, and imparts to this extraordinary figure an element of strain, quite unlike the more natural and compact poses of his other figures. The question arises therefore as to whether Giotto, in searching for a new set of more natural, emotional forms, employed an unusual model for this pose.

Interestingly enough, the Siena pulpit, finished by Niccolò Pisano in 1269 with the help of Giovanni, his son, and Arnolfo, affords a possible model. Evidently unnoticed, a similar figure occurs in the scene of the *Massacre of the Innocents*,[4] apparently the only other instance of this figure in the work which survives from mediaeval times (Fig. 3). Although the pose is similar in gesture and attitude, there are vast differences in style and in the point of view from which the figure is seen; the uniqueness of the pose, however, makes us ask whether Niccolò's figure could have been a model for Giotto.

Immediately, the difficult problem of relationships between the Pisani and Giotto is raised. According to Vasari,[5] Giovanni Pisano visited Giotto in Florence before the latter did his work at Padua. Thereafter there is a long tradition associating the name of Giovanni Pisano with that of Giotto. Berenson,[6] Crowe and Cavalcaselle,[7] and many others maintained that Giotto was formed under the influence of Giovanni Pisano, thereby accounting for Giotto's indebtedness to Gothic style. Unfortunately, none of these writers furnished us with specific examples of such an association, and, indeed, it apparently was not until Brach wrote in 1904 that actual comparisons between the pulpits and the frescoes were made with the intention of showing the similarities.[8] Brach maintained that Giotto's frescoes at Padua were inspired in part by the *Nativity*, *Adoration*, *Massacre*, and *Last Judgment* of Giovanni's pulpit at Pistoia, a work finished in 1301.

While it does seem that Giotto knew the work of Giovanni at Pistoia, it is to be noticed that some of

* Acknowledgment for the use of photographs is made to Fratelli Alinari, Florence, for Figs. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

1. H. Thode, *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien*, Berlin, 1885; H. Schrade, "Franz von Assisi und Giotto," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XVII, 1927, pp. 150ff.; H. B. Gutman, "The Rebirth of the Fine Arts and Franciscan Thought," *Franciscan Studies*, V, 1926, pp. 215ff.; VI, 1927, pp. 3ff.

2. G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile aux XIVe, XVe, et XVIe siècles*, Paris, 1916, pp. 489ff.; O. Sirén, *Toskanische Maler im XIII. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1922, pls. 9, 55, 74.

3. See the examples in Millet and Sirén.

4. G. Swarzenski, *Nicolo Pisano*, Frankfurt, 1926, pl. 32. See note 14.

5. G. Vasari, *Lives*, ed. E. H. Blashfield, New York, 1902, I, p. 39.

6. B. Berenson, *Florentine Painters of the Renaissance*, New York, 1898, p. 114.

7. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy*, ed. Langton Douglas, London, 1903, III, p. 134 n. 2.

8. A. Brach, *Nicola und Giovanni Pisano und die Plastik des XIV. Jahrhunderts in Siena*, Strasbourg, 1904, pp. 57ff.

Brach's Pistoia-Padua comparisons are equally true for comparisons of Niccolò's work at Siena with Padua.[9] For instance, the oldest king in the *Adoration* at Padua who kisses the foot of Christ occurs in both pulpits, as do the two angels who hold the cross in the *Last Judgment* scene. The evidence does not prove that Giotto knew only the Pistoian pulpit.

Romdahl continued to consider only Giovanni's Pistoian work as a source for Giotto.[10] But Van Marle noted that Giotto's *Nativity* is closest to the same scene at Siena, without, however, drawing any conclusions.[11] Fiocco has mentioned the similarity of the Siena *Presentation* to that at Padua and his comparison of the figure of Joseph in Niccolò's *Joseph's Dream* with the Joachim of *Joachim's Dream* at Padua is particularly impressive (Figs. 11 and 12).[12] There are features of the Paduan frescoes then which occur *only* in the Siena pulpit and it seems certain that Giotto had an intimate knowledge of Niccolò's work. We may consider the figure with the outstretched arms in Niccolò's *Massacre* at Siena as a possible inspiration for Giotto's figure of John.

Stylistically, the figure of John has undergone a great transformation if it is inspired by Niccolò's relief. Giotto gives it greater bulk and massiveness; he alters the rhythm, changing what was jagged and knotty into more languid, flaccid forms. It is to be noticed too that the point of view from which the figure is seen is lower, resulting in a decidedly more unified pose. These characteristic alterations are also seen in comparing Giotto's figure of Joachim with Niccolò's Joseph.

Niccolò Pisano's figure with the outstretched arms leads us further back into history. The unusual pose finds its counterpart in a figure represented in a series of Roman sarcophagi which tell the story of the death of Meleager.[13] The rare posture is assumed by one of the figures who attend the dying Meleager after the fatal brand has been thrust into the fire (Fig. 1).[14] That Niccolò modeled his figure upon one version of this scene there can be no doubt, since the posture, the outstretched arms, the wild hair, the position of the hands, and the facial expression are all quite similar. Perhaps the most telling features are the gathering of the garment over the bared shoulder and the fastening of the shoulder strap. Furthermore, there is a second figure in Niccolò's relief, a hunched woman just to the left and slightly below the woman with the outstretched arms, which is possibly derived from the woman who leans over Meleager to feed him. But if Niccolò's figures are derived from one of the sarcophagi, the Siena pulpit, which is not usually associated with antiquity, as well as the classical Pisa pulpit, shows an indebtedness to antique sculpture, and we must see whether there is any other evidence for this.

Perhaps we may pause here for a moment and recall that the Middle Ages did not wholly ignore ancient culture nor deface all the artistic works of pagan civilization. There were processes at work "mediaevalizing" classical forms.[15] We know that the twelfth century was interested in the antiquities of Rome,[16] that classical mythology was adapted to Christian art,[17] and that Roman statues and buildings were used not only as building stones but as models.[18] In a word, we see the Middle Ages today in such a light that it is no longer possible to distinguish the idea "mediaeval" from the idea "renaissance" by stating merely that the latter was interested in the classic and the former was not. It is now necessary to be more precise in defining the main "Renaissance," noting that the thirteenth century, for instance, "Christianized" the antique and still thought of itself as a continuation of mediaeval time.[19]

Van Marle has mentioned that Giotto is related to

9. Although there are other possible sources, notably the mosaics of the Florentine Baptistery (see note 37), Giotto's *Visitation* bears strong resemblances to the conception of Niccolò; and Giotto's group in the *Massacre*, which involves a soldier pulling the leg of a child who still clings to his mother's neck, occurs in both pulpits; the gesture of Giotto's henchman, however, is closest to that of the central soldier at Siena.

10. A. L. Romdahl, "Stil und Chronologie der Arenafresken Giotto's," *Jahrbuch der königlich preuszischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXXII, 1911, p. 16.

11. R. Van Marle, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de Giotto et de Duccio*, Strasbourg, 1920, p. 9. In the *Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1924, III, he does not mention the Pisani as playing any part in the development of Giotto's style and iconography.

12. G. Fiocco, "Giotto e Arnolfo," *Rivista d'arte*, XIX, 1937, p. 231.

13. C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, Berlin, 1904, III, pt. 2, pls. LXXXIXff.

14. Professor Panofsky, whom I wish to thank for having discussed these problems with me upon several occasions, has informed me that the similarity of the figure of Giotto's St. John and the sarcophagus figure, while observed independently by me, was previously known to both Dr. Georg Swarzenski and himself. Dr. Swarzenski had also observed the relationship between Niccolò's figure in the *Massacre* and the grieving figure in the sarcophagus, but neither of these observations has been published.

15. A. M. Friend, "The Portraits of the Evangelists in

Greek and Roman Manuscripts," *Art Studies*, V, 1927, pp. 114-150; VII, 1929, pp. 3-29; E. Panofsky, "Renaissance and Renascences," *Kenyon Review*, VI, no. 2, 1944, pp. 201ff., from whom I have borrowed the term "mediaevalizing"; K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, Princeton, 1947, pp. 173ff.

16. J. B. Ross, "A Study of Twelfth-Century Interest in the Antiquities of Rome," *Mediaeval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson*, ed. J. L. Cate and E. N. Anderson, Chicago, 1938, pp. 302ff.

17. E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, "Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, IV, 1932-33, pp. 228ff.; J. Seznec, *La survivance des dieux antiques*, London, 1940; J. Adhémar, *Influences antiques dans l'art du Moyen-Age français*, London, 1939; W. S. Heckscher, "Relics of Pagan Antiquity in Mediaeval Settings," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I, 1938, pp. 204-228.

18. Adhémar, *op.cit.*, p. xii n. 3, gives a bibliography. To this might be added: A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1904, III, figs. 863ff.; M. Salmi, *La scultura romanica in Toscana*, Florence, 1928, p. 68 and fig. 148; C. Shearer, *The Renaissance of Architecture in Southern Italy*, Cambridge, 1935; G. H. and E. R. Crichton, *Nicola Pisano and the Revival of Sculpture in Italy*, Cambridge, 1938, pl. 14.

19. Panofsky, *Kenyon Review*, 1944, pp. 201ff.; W. A. Nitze, "The So-called Twelfth Century Renaissance," *Speculum*, XXIII, 1948, pp. 464ff.; W. K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation*, Boston, 1948.

this thirteenth century interest in antiquity,[20] and Papini believes that Giovanni Pisano also used classical models.[21] Although we may find general classical details in the work of each of these men, no one as yet has given definite proof of such study. We are on certain ground, however, when we study Niccolò Pisano. Vasari records that Niccolò studied a Roman sarcophagus which had been captured by the Pisan navy and brought home.[22] This is the famous Hippolytus and Phaedra sarcophagus still at Pisa,[23] and it has often been pointed out that there are reflections of this sarcophagus in Niccolò Pisano's pulpit at Pisa.[24] The classical connotations of the Pisan reliefs are unmistakable.

It was generally believed that this classical dependence is not seen in Niccolò's later work at Siena, but Swarzenski has noted that in the *Paradise* scene there is a well-modeled figure whose naked back is turned toward us, a figure which finds a convincing parallel in certain Roman reliefs.[25] Fasola pointed to the exact model, a figure on a sarcophagus which still exists in Siena (Figs. 10 and 7).[26] Although a specific model has not been identified, Swarzenski also mentioned the classical character of the soldier uniform in the *Massacre of the Innocents*, the last rider in the *Adoration*, and the sculptural technique.[27] The Siena pulpit then shares the classical quality of the Pisa pulpit, and the figure of the man with the outstretched arms in the *Massacre* at Siena, considered in relation to the sarcophagi, may safely be added to the list of classically inspired figures.

Robert lists six sarcophagi which present the scene with the unusually posed figure.[28] None of these is now at Siena or Pisa, and their histories are not known before the time of the Renaissance.[29] Only three of these six reliefs are close enough to the Niccolò figure to be considered,[30] and although that from the Louvre which is reproduced seems closer than the others to Niccolò, it has not been possible to determine which one was used, if indeed it was one of these which remain. A slightly less well-preserved copy is the relief in the Palazzo Montalvo in Florence,[31] and this raises a problem since Florence was Giotto's place of birth.

Although we have assumed that the figure of John was derived by Giotto from Niccolò's Siena pulpit and not from the antique sarcophagus itself, it may well be asked why the latter course is not a more probable assumption. Giotto's figure seems typologically as close to the sarcophagi as to Niccolò Pisano; indeed, there do not seem to be any intrinsic reasons for deciding against this alternative, simpler hypothesis.

There are even two very important reasons for thinking that Giotto may have known the sarcophagus; Giotto's figure of John is related to a context which resembles the idea and composition of the original monument. As a scene the sarcophagus is more suited to be a model than Niccolò's isolated use of the figure is, for to use Niccolò's form Giotto had to extract it from one context, a *Massacre* scene, and relate it to a new meaning and fit it into a different composition, namely the *Pietà*, both of which, it turns out, are similar to the scene in the original sarcophagi.

Beyond the iconographic and compositional similarity between the two scenes, there is a second reason for thinking that Giotto knew the Meleager sarcophagus. The Florentine version of the relief, which is in good condition, has apparently been in Florence for many centuries; it was known to Florentine artists of the fifteenth century who were inspired by it upon several occasions.[32] Although no records associated with this sarcophagus have been brought to light, it may be presumed that Giotto also could have known this Florentine version if we can assume that it was there in his day.[33]

In view of these two arguments and the fact that it would not worry a mediaeval artist if he took over a pagan composition, figures and all, and used it for his Christian story,[34] we must consider it a strong possibility that Giotto studied the original sarcophagus.

While, on the evidence known, there can be no dogmatic decision as to whether Giotto knew the sarcophagus or only Niccolò Pisano's use of the figure (or perhaps knew both), it should be pointed out that it is possible to argue that he gained his knowledge of the figure entirely from the pulpit. There are, first of all, the outstanding facts that Niccolò's pulpit was a means for transmitting ideas to Giotto and that the figure occurs in Niccolò's work. Also, there is only a possibility, not a certainty, that the sarcophagus was known to Giotto. The major objection to the position

20. Van Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting*, III, pp. 173f.

21. R. Papini, "Promemoria sulla classicità di Giovanni Pisano," *Miscellanea di storia dell'arte in onore di J. B. Supino*, Florence, 1933, pp. 113ff.; A. Venturi, *Giovanni Pisano*, Munich, 1927, I, p. 43.

22. Vasari, *Le vite*, ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878, I, pp. 294ff.

23. Swarzenski, *Nicolo Pisano*, pl. 20.

24. E. Dobbert, *Über den Styl Niccolo Pisano's und dessen Ursprung*, Munich, 1873, p. 85. For other instances of Niccolò's classical dependence in the Pisa pulpit, see *ibid.*, p. 50; Swarzenski, *op.cit.*, p. 17, pls. 22f.; E. Förster, *Geschichte der italienischen Kunst*, Leipzig, 1870, II, p. 115.

25. Swarzenski, *op.cit.*, pl. 55.

26. G. N. Fasola, *Nicola Pisano*, Rome, 1941, pl. VII. Swarzenski, *op.cit.*, pl. 55, has reproduced a monument from Rome which is clearly not Niccolò's model; however, in the text, p. 38, he says that Niccolò may have known a monument

in Siena, presumably that cited by Fasola.

27. Swarzenski, *op.cit.*, p. 38.

28. Robert, *op.cit.*, pls. LXXXIXff.

29. *ibid.*, pp. 334ff.

30. *ibid.*, pls. XCI, XCII, XCIII.

31. *ibid.*, pl. XCIII, no. 282.

32. The figure was used twice by Donatello: *Deposition*, Tabernacle of the Sacristy of St. Peter's, and in the *Deposition* at Sant' Antonio, Padua. It was also used once by Giuliano da San Gallo: Grave monument for Francesco Sassetti in S. Trinita, Florence. For this information, see Robert, *op.cit.*, pp. 334ff.

33. Professor Panofsky, who developed this argument further in a letter to me, has mustered several other strong arguments for the hypothesis that Giotto knew the sarcophagus, making this hypothesis stronger than I was able to do.

34. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 173ff.

3. Niccolò Pisano, *Massacre of the Innocents* (detail). Siena, Cathedral

6. Umbrian Master, late XIII century, *Lamentation*. Perugia, National Gallery

2. Giotto, *Lamentation* (detail). Padua, Arena Chapel

1. Roman Sarcophagus, *Death of Meleager* (detail). Paris, Louvre

5. Pisan Master, late XIII century, *Lamentation* from a Crucifix. Pisa, San Martino
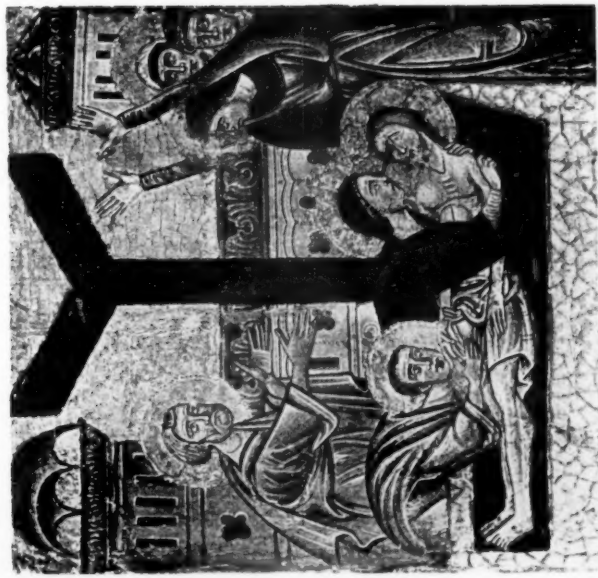
4. Follower of Bonaventura Berlinghieri, *Lamentation*. New Haven, Yale University

7. Niccolò Pisano,
The Elect. Siena,
Cathedral

10. Roman Sarcophagus, *Sea Gods* (detail).
Siena, Cathedral Museum

8. Giovanni Pisano,
Last Judgment, Pistoia, Sant' Andrea

11. Niccolò Pisano, *Joseph's Dream* (detail).
Siena, Cathedral

9. Giovanni Pisano,
The Elect. Pisa,
Cathedral

12. Giotto, *Joachim's Dream* (detail). Padua,
Arena Chapel

that the pulpit was the sole source resides in the iconographical and compositional disparity between the figure's occurrence in Niccolò's relief and its "correct" setting in Giotto's fresco. The theory that Giotto extracted the figure from Niccolò's *Massacre* and inserted it into a different context appears to impute to Giotto a process which is contrary to his usual habits of working;[35] but there is actually a reasonable iconographic precedent for including a similar figure in the *Lamentation* scene.[36]

From the thirteenth century several works are preserved which show a more emotional *Lamentation* than any previous examples. There are several monuments in which Mary Magdalene and two other women are in a group near Christ; Mary Magdalene raises her arms above her head violently,[37] and John kisses the hand of Christ (Fig. 4).[38] Sometimes the Magdalene stands alongside the bier and has the same wild gesture (Fig. 5).[39] In the fourteenth century, there are many examples of this excited gesticulation,[40] and, indeed, it is a feature which became permanently associated with the *Lamentation* scene.[41]

There was, therefore, an iconographical tradition for placing a similar, though less emotional, figure in a prominent position in the *Lamentation* scene. Giotto may have altered its pose according to Niccolò's figure and given John the new role, the Mary Magdalene now being at the feet of Christ, a position she has in the description in the *Meditations*.[42] So if the Florentine sarcophagus was not known by Giotto, it is still possible that his powerful figure of John in his *Pietà* at Padua

may be derived ultimately from a Meleager sarcophagus through the intermediary of Niccolò Pisano's figure at Siena.[43]

As for the two women whose backs we see in Giotto's *Pietà*, we are forced to be less certain of the exact source. This was, apparently, a wholly new dramatic introduction to a scene, and Giotto employed it in other paintings, notably in the *Massacre of the Innocents* and in his *Nativity* in which two shepherds are seen from the rear. However, although the device may be new in Italo-Gothic painting, if we follow the paths established from Giotto to the pulpits of the Pisani and then to the antique we may find several possible sources for such an inscenation. We have already mentioned one in the *Paradise* at Siena in which a resurrected figure was modeled on a classical figure (Figs. 10 and 7). Other examples occur in Niccolò's *Last Judgment*.[44] The full dramatic and spatial possibilities of these figures are not realized, but they represent potentially a complete departure in spatial principle from the rest of the relief in which distance is indicated by placing one figure merely above and slightly overlapped by another figure.

Apparently Niccolò's figures made a great impression upon the young Giovanni, who is said to have visited Giotto, for the same resurrected figure occurs again in his *Last Judgment* at Pistoia.[45] This time the figure is accompanied by a clothed figure who contorts himself so that we see both his back and his face, an amusing combination of two different points of view, as if there were a proscription against seeing a figure wholly from

35. Van Marle, *Recherches*, p. 39 and pp. 55ff.

36. G. Sanoner, "La vie de Jesus Christ racontée par les imagiers du moyen âge sur les portes d'églises," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 5 me série, III, 1907, pp. 314ff.; G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile*, pp. 489ff.; K. Künstle, *Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg, 1928, I, pp. 480ff.

37. Florence, Baptistery, Dome, Section 8; Venturi, *Storia*, V, fig. 185. For the influence of the Baptistery mosaics on Giotto, see Van Marle, *Recherches*; E. F. Rothschild and E. H. Wilkins, "Hell in the Florentine Baptistery Mosaic and in Giotto's Paduan Fresco," *Art Studies*, VI, 1928, p. 31; M. Salmi, "I mosaici del 'Bel San Giovanni' e la pittura del secolo XIII a Firenze," *Dedalo*, XI, 1931, pp. 543ff. New Haven, Yale University Museum, attributed to Follower of Bonaventura Berlinghieri; Van Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting*, I, fig. 169. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, panel 3393; E. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*, Florence, 1949, p. 234, no. 657. Perugia, Gall. Pinacoteca Vanucci, Triptych 877; Van Marle, *op.cit.*, I, fig. 236.

38. The three women on the hill, one with raised arms, occur also in twelfth century monuments: Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, MS gr. 1156, Lectionary, fol. 194v; G. Millet, *Recherches*, p. 495, fig. 533; figs. 535ff. reproduce other examples. Aquileia, Cathedral, crypt walls, Section 6, zone 1; *La basilica di Aquileia*, Bologna, 1933, pl. LXXIV.

39. Toledo, Cathedral Treasury, Steatite Diptych; B. Berenson, *Studies in Mediaeval Painting*, New Haven, 1930, fig. 25, in which John is shown at the side weeping. Pisa, San Michele, crucifix attributed to Enrico di Tedice; Sirén, *Toskanische Maler*, pl. 57.

40. Milan, Col. Sessa, panels: E. B. Garrison, "A Tentative Reconstruction of a Tabernacle," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, XXIX, 1946, fig. 2, p. 324; note also fig. 29, p. 345. Siena, Gal. Pinacoteca, Panel 111; F. F. M. Perkins, "Nuovi appunti

sulla Galleria delle Belle Arti di Siena," *Rassegna d'arte senese*, XXI, 1928, fig. p. 153. Siena, Gal. Pinacoteca, Panel 77a; Van Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting*, II, pp. 423ff., fig. 283. New York, Morgan Library, MS 643, fol. 13r; R. Offner, *Florentine Painting*, New York, 1930, III, pt. 2, pl. VIII.

41. New York, Morgan Library, polyptych; M. Meiss, "Italian Style in Catalonia and a Fourteenth Century Catalan Workshop," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, IV, 1941, fig. 2b. Psalter, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 8846, fol. 117; *ibid.*, fig. 27. Duccio, *Maestà*; Van Marle, *op.cit.*, II, fig. 31. E. Mâle, "L'iconographie française et l'art italien," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XXXVII, 1920, pp. 10ff., pp. 90ff., reproduces three French examples and cites the "Heures d'Yolande de Flandre" example, reproduced Y. Thompson, *Illustrations of One Hundred Manuscripts*, London, 1907-1918, V, pl. XXIff.

42. *The Mirrour of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, attributed to Bonaventura, ed. Lawrence F. Powell, London, 1908, p. 250. It has generally been said that Giotto's is the earliest representation of the passage, but see M. Meiss, "Italian Primitives at Konopiště," ART BULLETIN, XXVIII, 1946, p. 10 n. 8. In Giotto's *Pietà* the third Mary, at Christ's head, raises her arms as in earlier representations.

43. The figure also occurs in the work of Giotto's followers: B. Berenson, "Il trecento fiorentino, I," *Dedalo*, XI, no. 4, 1931, fig. p. 961.

44. Swarzenski, *Nicolo Pisano*, pl. 35. After this paper was written, there appeared the article by Millard Meiss, "A New Early Duccio," ART BULLETIN, XXXIII, 1951, pp. 102ff., which suggests similar sources for Duccio.

45. A. Venturi, *Giovanni Pisano*, Munich, 1927, pl. 86. Figures seen from the rear also occur at Reims where there is also an indebtedness to antique sarcophagi (Fig. 10); see the bibliography given by Adhémar, *Influences antiques*, pp. 273f.

the rear (Fig. 8). There is a limited spatial development observable here; one figure is visually, not merely deductively, distant, and if we compare this group with the vertical, ladder-like arrangement of figures in other parts of the relief we see a new spatial realization coming into its own.

That Giovanni is struggling with a spatial problem, one which he may have discussed with Giotto, we can be certain, since in his later Pisa pulpit, begun in 1302, we find two figures seen from the rear in the *Last Judgment* (Fig. 9), one almost on the same plane before another, and both arranged before a third figure, the Virgin Mary, giving us a progression in depth which is altogether different from the ladder arrangement of the lefthand side of the relief.[46]

Giotto, in his *Pietà*, develops this new visualization; although it is impossible to say in the narrow sense that the Pisani were his models, the spatial device is potentially there. Giotto turns what is almost accidental in quality in the pulpits into a monumental visual principle. He dramatizes the figures, makes them larger and more monumental, changes their rhythms, and he sees the whole scene from a lower and more unified point of view so that the hulking, seated figures obscure what is behind them. Indeed, the figures and spatial development have undergone those stylistic transformations which we noted earlier in respect to the figures of Niccolò's Joseph and Giotto's Joachim, but the inspiration for the developed form seems to lie in the work of the Pisani.

In conclusion, it has been possible to see in several works known to Giotto characteristic features of the Italian art which Giotto studied in his formative years. By comparing his probable models with his own transformations in two concrete instances, one can demonstrate a few of the creative processes by which Giotto's artistic genius achieved a new formal and emotional visualization.

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NOTES ON THE *SPECULUM ROMANAE MAGNIFICENTIAE* AND RELATED PUBLICATIONS*

BATES LOWRY

Travelers in Rome during the latter half of the sixteenth century were afforded an opportunity to preserve their memories of its wonders. Apart from the guidebooks, the visitor could choose from a vast selection of excellent engravings depicting every phase of Roman life. Representations of all the buildings, ruins, statues, bas-reliefs, paintings, gems, historical events, and even the *Cries* of Rome were available in single prints. A choice from this offering was based, no doubt, on the purchaser's individual preferences. The ordinary tourist's choice was dictated by other considerations than was that of the visiting artist's, whose purposes perhaps were better served by the books then appearing which dealt solely with the statues, paintings, or buildings. Once returned home, the visitor generally applied himself to assembling his souvenirs in book form. Aware of this procedure, one editor, whose shop was among the most flourishing in Rome, had engraved a title-page to suit such a collection. The title selected was *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (Fig. 1). It was an extremely beautiful piece of work, designed by Etienne Du Pérac, and became the frontispiece of many of these collections. Naturally, the compilers of such volumes did not feel obliged to include only those prints published by the editor of this title-page, but added freely from the stock of other editors. In some instances, books dealing with some phase of Roman life were taken apart and their plates inserted into the collection. Often a collection begun in the sixteenth century was expanded by the addition of material during succeeding centuries, the collection begun by father being added to by son. In such a manner the name of Antonio Lafreri, the publisher of the original title-page, became identified with the output of all the editors in Rome.

Such an attribution was a problem of no great concern until late in the nineteenth century when librarians were forced to catalogue such collections as had found their way from private into national libraries. Except in rare instances, the title-page was accepted as proof of the contents, and a book which had never existed was created: Antonio Lafreri, *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, Rome, 15—. The entry was often expanded, either to list a few of the other works which might be included (if the cataloguer's attention had been arrested by the fact that more than one title-page was included), or simply to state "numerous additions." The creation of such a volume, whose contents depended solely upon chance, also created a bibliographical problem.[1] Until 1921 no attempt was made to identify and separate the prints published by Lafreri and his immediate successors from the work of other editors in Rome. However, at this date, Hülsen,[2] by examining the contents of many of the near contemporary copies of the *Speculum* and with the aid of a catalogue of the prints offered for sale in the shop of Lafreri in 1572,[3] determined 167 individual prints as the maxi-

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46. Venturi, *G. Pisano*, pl. 113.

1. The obvious answer had been supplied by Leopoldo Cicognara, *Catalogo ragionato dei libri d'arte e d'antichità*, 2 vols., Pisa, 1821; reprint, Leipzig, 1931, II, no. 3886, who correctly listed his copy without recognizing an author. Unfortunately this practice was not followed by later cataloguers.

2. Christian Hülsen, "Das Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae des Antonio Lafreri," *Collectanea variae doctrinae Leoni S. Olschki*, Munich, 1921, pp. 121-170.

3. This catalogue is preserved at the Biblioteca Marucelliana in Florence, *Misc. 79.4*. It was reproduced by Francesco Ehrle, *La pianta di Roma Du Pérac-Lafréry del 1577*, Rome, 1908, pp. 59-66.

mum number for the Lafreri *Speculum*. In so defining the *Speculum* Hülsen had clarified part of the bibliographical problem, but had done so only by replacing the book invented by the nineteenth century librarians with an equally fictitious volume now created with a scientific precision. The Lafreri title-page, sold only as a single sheet and never contained in a published collection, was not issued for the purpose of creating a book of such limitations.[4]

While Lafreri's *Speculum* as defined by Hülsen may be more desirable from a bibliographical point of view and of convenience in dating the individual prints, it is the copies entitled by Hülsen as *Monstreexemplare*[5] which are of greater interest and importance to the art historian or antiquarian. Collectors in the nineteenth century were aware of the value of such copies as historical documents and strove to assemble copies which would reflect a complete and comprehensive record of the works of art in sixteenth and seventeenth century Rome. Rudolph Weigel recognized the importance of such a collection when he included a complete listing of the contents of one example in his *Kunstcatalog*,[6] and Cicognara remarked of his copies of the *Speculum*: ". . . sempre questi due nostri esemplari si vanno aumentando."[7] Often the compilers of these works have preserved for us prints of great rarity. However, it is not for that reason alone that these *Speculum* make a valuable contribution to the history of antiquarianism and are considered indispensable for the art historian, whether his interest is in the art of classical or Renaissance Rome. The *Speculum* is a dictionary of the antiquities known to the Renaissance, and its engravings represent an assembly of classical motifs from which the Renaissance artist might have drawn inspiration. Its value as such is increased by the fact that it presents these motifs in the very form with which the majority of the artists were familiar. For it was in these engravings that the knowledge of the various examples of classical art was spread beyond Rome and became the common property of any artist, whether or not he had taken the pilgrimage to Rome. And for those who did go to Rome these engravings were the means by which they retained the impressions of what they had seen.

Among the recorded copies of this type of *Speculum*

there are two which have long been considered as the most extensive of these collections of Renaissance engravings. They are the so-called Quaritch *Speculum*[8] containing 374 prints and the *Speculum* from the Earl of Crawford's Library[9] containing 601 pieces. To these copies must now be added the copy in the University of Chicago Libraries which completely surpasses the latter two, possessing 996 pieces.[10] The plates are bound in four large folio volumes (625 x 485 mm.).[11] They are carefully mounted on paper (Fig. 2) with the watermark GERMANIA and the double-headed eagle. However, a number of the engravings are mounted on an earlier paper, which in the case of the larger pieces has been incorporated into the volumes without remounting. No doubt an older copy of the *Speculum* of smaller size was used as the basis on which to assemble this copy. Neither the pages nor the engravings were numbered until I recently did so, it being impossible to work with the volumes otherwise. No marks of previous ownership are present, which would seem to indicate that the volumes never left the hands of the bookdealer who supervised its assembling. The only reference I have been able to discover to a copy approaching in size the Chicago *Speculum* is that copy which Auguste Geffroy mentions in a note to an article written in 1890.[12] After referring to a letter of March 1890 which he had received from the Calvary Library in Berlin, he states that the library ". . . à l'exemple de Rudolph Weigel, réunit et met en vente en ce moment même un exemplaire le plus complêt possible du *Speculum romanae magnificentiae*. L'exemplaire actuel contient plus de 700 planches de Lafreri et de ses collaborateurs, toutes sur Rome."[13]

The lack of any further discussion or comment on this superb copy is explained by the sale of the Calvary Library one year later. For in 1891 the complete stock of the Calvary Library was acquired by the University of Chicago. This purchase was considered as one of the largest book transactions ever made, with the lowest estimate of its size being 250,000 volumes. Among the contents of this purchase was the *Speculum* with which we are now concerned. I also shall have cause to mention several other volumes from this purchase, now identified as the Berlin collection, which

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4. The title-page is not listed in the catalogue mentioned above, and it is generally considered as being later than the other works (Ehrle, *op.cit.*, p. 15). This fact alone makes it difficult to conceive of a volume having been planned by Lafreri.

5. As mentioned in his review of Paul Hübner, *Le statue di Roma*, Leipzig, 1912, I, in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1914, pp. 269f. I shall follow the suggestion made in this review that such copies be identified as the "*Speculum* of Mr. Brown" or "del Conte Trestelle" rather than *Speculum Lafrerii*.

6. Rudolph Weigel, *Kunstcatalog*, 5 vols., Leipzig, 1838-66, II, 1844-50, pp. 28-36, no. 13441.

7. Cicognara, *op.cit.*

8. The contents of this copy are described in Bernard Quaritch's Rough List No. 135, pp. 119ff., no. 1530, which is included in Supplement IV to Bernard Quaritch, *A General Catalogue of Books . . .*, London, 1887-92. It is now in the collection of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art.

9. This copy was recently (1950) offered by the book-

dealer H. P. Kraus of New York, who published a complete list of its contents. It is also described in *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, Aberdeen, 1910-13, III, p. 5101.

10. At some date previous to June 1930 a vandal removed two of the pages belonging to the first volume.

11. All four volumes are in a binding of recent date and have on the spine the title: Lafreri, *Speculum Magnificentiae Urbis Romae*. The individual volumes are entitled: *I Roma antiqua 1. Architectura*, 126 (128) pages, 170 (172?) engravings; *II Roma antiqua 2. Sculptura. Pictura*, 179 pages, 434 engravings; *III Roma nova. Icones region. Ornamenta. Sculpturae*, 122 pages, 236 engravings; *IV Roma nova 2. Icon. Personar. Oper Pictor. Vita Romana*, 97 pages, 156 engravings. The contents are not quite so clearly separated as the titles might indicate.

12. Auguste Geffroy, "L'album de Pierre Jacques de Reims . . . ," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, X, 1890, pp. 150-215.

13. *ibid.*, p. 166.

in some manner supplement the *Speculum*. They are fine copies of the rarer editions of both volumes of *Antiquarum Statuarum Urbis Romae Libri*, by Joannes Baptista de Cavalleriis, and a unique copy of the 1621 edition of a work with the same title by Laurentius Vaccarius. I shall confine my remarks at this time to but a single section of the Chicago *Speculum*, although I hope to present at a future date an extensive account of its contents.

The section of the Chicago *Speculum* I have chosen to mention here is that concerned with the classical statues belonging to the various sixteenth century collections in Rome. Most of the prints of this nature found in the volume of the Chicago *Speculum* entitled *Roma Antiqua 2. Sculptura. Pictura* have been taken from a series of books begun by Joannes Baptista de Cavalleriis (Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri) sometime before 1561.[14] For the next century the same Cavalieri plates, or copies of them, appeared in some eleven editions. New plates were added by various editors to include other statues or to conform to later repairs or alterations. The old plates were altered as the statues passed from one collection to another, frequently renumbered, and, in some instances, cut down in size. Although these editions deal only with one of the many topics—sculpture—included in a *Speculum*, their role in the history of antiquarianism and their importance to the art historian are equally prominent.

The first dated edition of these works by Cavalieri on the sculptures of Rome appeared in 1561 with the title *Antiquarum Statuarum Urbis Romae, Liber Primus* (Ashby, I, 1. b). An undated edition had appeared before (Ashby, I, 1. a); another came out sometime between 1562 and 1570 (Ashby, I, 1. c). The importance and, if we may judge from the number of editions, the success of this first book was soon recognized by one of Cavalieri's contemporaries, and in 1570 Girolamo Porro published a volume entitled *Antiquarum Statuarum Urbis Romae*, Venetiis, Noviter Impress. (Ashby, I, 1. d). The Chicago *Speculum* contains forty-nine out of a possible fifty-two plates from this edition, only one copy of which is known to exist. This Venetian edition of 1570 is a careful and minute copy of Cavalieri's work of 1561. Indeed the work is so faithfully reproduced that Cicognara (No. 3543) believed Porro to have used the Cavalieri plates. However, Ashby notes several orthographical variations[15] occurring in the plate titles of the two works, thus establishing the fact of a copyist. Ashby also states that the plates of 1570 are slightly reduced in size from the

originals of 1561 (203 x 130 mm. to 195 x 127 mm.), but the actual size of the prints in either edition is so variable as to be an unreliable standard of distinction. Neither Cicognara nor Ashby have noted a striking blunder into which the otherwise faithful copyist has fallen and which leaves no doubt as to the plates being copied. That is the fact that Plate 6, portraying a statue of Semele, is reversed. In the 1561 edition the statue is shown holding a basket in the left hand with the left foot advanced; the reverse is true of the 1570 edition. As only one copy of the 1570 edition, at Munich, is known to exist, it might be understandable that the difference should have escaped both Ashby and Cicognara's attention, if it were not for the fact that the 1570 work was reprinted in 1576 with the title *Statue antiche che sono poste in diversi luoghi nella città di Roma* (Ashby, I, 1. e). It was on this edition that Cicognara based his description,[16] and as he makes no mention of an earlier Porro edition he was no doubt unaware of its existence. The plates of the reprint do not differ from those of the previous edition except for the addition of roman numerals to the plates.[17]

At some later date Cavalieri published an enlarged edition of his early work. The same title was employed, although now qualified by the inscription *Primus et Secundus Liber* on the title-page. Many of the original plates were included in this edition, although some plates had been replaced by larger copies. In addition, some new drawings had been made of the same statues and of other statues to bring the collection to a total of one hundred plates. A dated edition of this work appeared in 1585 (Ashby, I, 2. b). Prior to this time there had been an undated edition (Ashby, I, 2. a), a copy of which came to Chicago with the Berlin collection. Ashby describes similar copies in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome and in his own collection.[18] On the back of the title-page of the Roman and the Chicago copies are printed the arms of Cavalieri. The Chicago copy shows a shield with an eagle in the upper part and two crossed clubs in the lower part. Above the shield is a helmet, surmounted by a large eagle; below, the legend IOANNES BAPTISTAE DE CAVALLERIIS. Bound with both the Ashby and the Chicago copies is the 1569 edition of Dosio's *Urbis Romae Aedificorum Reliquiae*. Between the title-page and the first plate of the Chicago copy is an extra leaf with an unnumbered engraving of the Farnese Bull; a print which is normally found as Plate 3 in an edition of Cavalieri's of 1594. I shall consider this again when dealing with that edition.

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14. The observations presented here can only form a footnote to the article by the late Thomas Ashby, "Antiquae Statuae Urbis Romae," which appeared in the *Papers of the British School at Rome*, IX, 1920, pp. 107-158. His article represents the work of many years in collating and critically comparing the many copies of the various editions of these works scattered throughout the libraries of Europe. He patiently traces the plates of Cavalieri through their many issues and vicissitudes to their final resting place in the Calcografia. Without this article, which is a primary reference work for students of both art and bibliography, this paper could never have been written.

15. In one instance, Ashby notes that the copyist had written

POYHYMNIA on Plate 29, in place of POLYHYMNIA (Ashby, *op.cit.*, p. 116), but on the Chicago *Speculum* proof (No. 323) it is possible to discern the traces of an "L." It was merely cut too lightly and no doubt led Ashby to believe it was missing entirely. The same insufficient cutting is evident in the hache of the "H" which is also barely discernible in the Chicago example of the same plate.

16. The date is printed wrongly as 1676.

17. I am indebted to Mr. Robert H. Haynes, Assistant Librarian at Harvard College Library, for kindly allowing me to borrow a copy of the rare 1576 edition.

18. Ashby, *op.cit.*, p. 118 n. 1.

SPECVLVM
ROMANAE
MAGNIFICEN=
TIAE·

OMNIA FERE QVAECVNQ=
IN VRBE MONVMENTA
EXTANT·PARTIM IVXTA
ANTIQVAM·PARTIM IVXTA
HODIERNAM FOR.MAM
ACCVRATISS·DELINEATA
REPRAESENTANS·

A cceßerunt non pauca, tum an
tiquarum, tum modernarum
rerum Vrbis figuræ nunquam
antehac editæ ·

1. Title-page published by Antonio Lafreri, ca. 1583

2. Typical page from the Chicago *Speculum*

3. "Cythereas posteritatem prospiciens . . ."

4. "Cupidinis cogitabundi stantis statua"

5. Van Schaych's 1621 edition with plates printed two to a page

(Reproduced by courtesy of the University of Chicago Libraries)

Some of the plates for the first two books certainly had been prepared long before their dated appearance in 1585. The statues noted as being in the Valle collection were by 1584 already in the Medici collection, as Ashby has pointed out. In addition, it is interesting to note that the statues appearing on Plates 97 and 98 are given as being in the ". . . Villa Margeritae de Austria Romae." This designation for the Villa Madama may indicate a period immediately following its acquisition by Margherita Farnese in 1567, for it was during her occupancy that the present name originated.[19]

The prints from this publication which are included in the Chicago *Speculum* are not all from the 1585 edition. Several come from the 1619 edition (Ashby, III, B, 2) of a collection of plates, including many of the original Cavalieri ones, which was first published between 1608 and 1613 by Nicolaus van Aelst (Ashby, III, B, 1). Others are from another edition of this work which appeared in 1645 (Ashby, III, B, 3). The plates from these editions in the Chicago *Speculum* reveal seventeenth century alterations unnoticed by Ashby. In several instances, the plates have been reduced in size by cutting from either the top or the bottom. As the size of the plates in these editions is in no manner consistent, the reduction must have been due solely to the edges having been damaged, rather than to an attempt to preserve a uniform format. Although the reduction usually is not large, in two cases it amounts to as much as sixteen and nineteen millimeters.[20]

Cavalieri's publication was completed with the appearance of the third and fourth books. They bear the same title as the previous ones with the addition of the inscription *Tertius et Quartus Liber* (Ashby, I, 3). They also consisted of one hundred plates, all of which were new, or at least had not appeared in any numbered sequence in a previous edition. This continuation is more rare than the first part and the Chicago University Libraries are fortunate in possessing a fine copy. Apart from Plate 71,[21] the volume is complete and includes after Plate 100 an extra sheet with the Cavalieri arms described above. In the copy in the Topham Library at Eton College, the arms are printed on the reverse of the final plate. The Chicago *Speculum* does not contain any plates which can be definitely attributed to the 1594 impression, although it does contain a number of plates coming from this series, a few of which are worthy of mention as they depart from the normal arrangement of this series.

As was the case with others previously mentioned, the drawings for the third and fourth books must have been executed a considerable time before they were gathered together in a series. Several of these plates appear without number in copies of Books I-II: as noted above, the Chicago copy contains a proof of the Toro

Farnese which appears in the 1594 edition as Plate 3; a copy in the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome (Ashby, p. 134) contains not only this plate but also Plates 37 and 81 from Books III-IV. In the Chicago *Speculum* (No. 174) there is a print of Plate 27 (Neptune) without a number, probably also a proof before final publication. A proof of Plate 29 (Mercury) is present (No. 185 S) also without a number. Ashby does not list this plate as occurring in any later edition in such a state, but as part of a previous number is discernible, it cannot be a print before publication and must have been included in some collection not known to Ashby.

It may also be of value to note a change in the inscription on one of the plates in this collection. While Ashby has excluded from his article any particular notice of changes in the titles unless they add a new fact, it is possible that the significance of a changed inscription on Plate 66 eluded him (Fig. 3). In the Chicago Cavalieri Books III-IV, the old inscription is barely discernible beneath the late one, but on the same plate in the Chicago *Speculum* (No. 312) the change is quite obvious. A handwritten notation[22] in the margin of this plate gives the old inscription as reading "Cythereas posteritatem prospiciens in aedi[bus] Fabii Baverii."[23] The new inscription "Venus Callipigia aliena usu et nomine pro leucopiga In palatio Farnesiorū" denotes not only an improvement in the description but a change in the collection. Although we do not know when this statue passed into the Farnese collection,[24] the change in inscription in this instance no doubt indicated an earlier state of the plate. Ashby mentions other instances in which a statue is described as being in the hands of a collector who had already disposed of the statue by 1594, but the anachronisms were allowed to remain.

Furthermore, the Chicago *Speculum* contains an engraving (No. 190) which is identical in style to those in the third and fourth Cavalieri book, but which is not found in any of the recorded copies of this edition (Fig. 4). The engraving is entitled "Cupidinis cogitabundi stantis statua." It is not assigned to any collection nor is the plate numbered. The absence of any notation as to the whereabouts of the statue is interesting, as Ashby had surmised that the names of the collectors had been added a little later to the plates[25] although he had no proof of any such instance. The fact that the plate is not numbered is not an unusual occurrence, as we have remarked earlier. Both of these facts, however, speak for this print being an early proof of a plate which was to have appeared in Books III-IV, but for some reason was omitted at the last moment. As if in confirmation of the foregoing is the fact that among the one hundred plates of Books III-IV there exists a single plate in the style of Book I; a

19. ". . . [Villa Madama] fu detta poi 'Madama' quando venne in possesso di Margherita Farnese . . .": *Enciclopedia italiana*, XXXV, p. 353.

20. Plate 74, 16 mm. at bottom (No. 260 S); Plate 97, 19 mm. at top (No. 282 S).

21. Plate 71 is present, but is a proof from the 1645 Van Aelst edition and is not bound into the book.

22. A comparison of this notation with the traces of the old inscription clearly indicates this notation to be correct.

23. Plate 65 is also listed as belonging to this same collection.

24. It is now with the other Farnese marbles in Naples, No. 314. The plate is reversed, as is the case with many of the engravings from this edition.

25. He comments on the fact that the part of the inscription mentioning the collection always begins with a capital letter: Ashby, *op.cit.*, p. 123.

striking exception in the otherwise uniform collection. The print found in the Chicago *Speculum* was undoubtedly to have been included in Books III-IV.

The same statue of Cupid had appeared as Plate 64 in the collection published by Lorenzo della Vaccaria in 1584 with the title *Antiquarum Statuarum Urbis Romae* (Ashby, II, 1). The plate title is the same, except that here is added the phrase "apud nobilem quendem." A copy of this Vaccaria plate appears in the Van Aelst collection (1608-13) as Plate 22 and is there assigned to the Villa Medici. The fact that this statue of Cupid is unknown today, coupled with the vague indications of its locality on two of the plates depicting it, may indicate the presence of a forgery. This is not unlikely, as both of these latter collections contain a number of statues which have defied identification. If we accept this postulate, we may then go further and credit Cavalieri with excluding this representation from his collection on the basis that it was a forgery. This would do much to restore the integrity of the Cavalieri publications, particularly Books III-IV, which often have been considered as spurious. Ashby had done much to right this unjust criticism by identifying for the first time the major portion of the statues depicted by Cavalieri. In fact, he considered only two plates from Books III-IV—Plates 1 and 4—as possible forgeries.

There are many plates in the Chicago *Speculum* which come from these later editions. The title-page used by Vaccaria for the edition of about 1608 is used as the title-page for the second volume (No. 171 *S*). A few of the engravings show variations which are noteworthy: a proof (No. 172 *S*) before publication of Vaccaria Plate 11, appearing here without number or lined background;[26] one (No. 200 *S*) in a similar state, of Vaccaria Plate 78 bearing only the title "Fauni imago," which was extended in the published edition to "Fauni imago in aedibus cuiusdam nobilis Romani"; and another (No. 192 *S*) identical in subject matter and style to Vaccaria Plate 45, although not from the same plate. This latter engraving bears the title "Ganimedis figura in viridario Magni Ducis Etrurie." In connection with these plates another volume from the Berlin collection is of interest. This is a copy of the 1621 edition by Goert van Schaych of the original Vaccaria publication (Ashby, II, 3). On the title-page of this edition appears the notation *pars secunda*, posing a problem to bibliographers as to what was the *pars prima*.[27] Ashby was certain that it could not have been Du Pérac's *Vestigi*, as Hülsen had suggested, for in all

the copies examined by Ashby the plates are printed one to a page; thus making the size of the book quarto and not in agreement with the oblong size of the Du Pérac plates. However, the Chicago volume, in contemporary binding, has the plates printed two to a page and is preceded by Schaych's edition of the *Vestigi* (Fig. 5). Thus the problem is resolved in favor of Hülsen.[28]

It is also interesting to note that Ashby, in listing the copies of this edition of Vaccaria which he examined (p. 129 n. 1), especially mentions that the Vatican copy has an impression of No. 80 (Pasquino) which shows a number of legends and a cardinal's hat with the Orsini arms. Ashby notes that this cardinal must be either Alessandro Orsini (created 1615; died 1626) or Virginio Orsini (created 1641; died 1676). The Chicago *Speculum* possesses the plate (No. 447) with the same inscription and arms and one without such additions (No. 448). Moreover, the Chicago *Speculum* contains a print of the same statue by Lafreri (1550) showing the same legends, but with the arms of the Carafa family engraved on the pedestal. Cardinal Oliviero Carafa (created 1458; died 1511) had been responsible for the erection of the Pasquino in 1501 and his arms are similarly depicted in earlier reproductions of the statue. The Orsini arms must have been added some time after the death of the Carafa Pope, Paul IV, in 1559, for at that time the Roman populace revolted and destroyed all the Carafa inscriptions and escutcheons in Rome.[29]

The title-page of the Chicago copy of the 1621 edition varies slightly from that given by Ashby (p. 128) in that the date in this copy comes after the notation *pars secunda* rather than before it.[30] As Ashby gives no photograph of the 1621 title-page, it is impossible to tell at present whether the copies he examined bore the double-headed eagle arms found on either side of the lower part of the title-page of the Chicago copy.[31] In his treatment of the many other editions with which he deals, Ashby has been careful to note all such deviations and provide photographs of them. As he has not done so in this case, I am inclined to believe that this circumstance was unknown to Ashby. The presence of these variations may indicate the existence of a heretofore unrecorded edition, either before or after the standard 1621 edition. Due to the additions to Plate 80, it is probable that the supposed edition follows, rather than precedes, the standard one.

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26. Ashby mentions that he owned a copy of Plate 68 without the lined background and also noted that a few engravings before the letter were in the volume at the Gabinetto delle Stampe Reale in Rome: *ibid.*, p. 124 n. 3.

27. Cicognara, *Catalogo* . . . , II, No. 3477: "Queste è una delle più rare collezioni di statue riunita, e riprodotta, che apparve forse disgiunta avanti l'epoca nel frontespizio da noi qui segnata, e sebbene dicasi *parte seconda* in due esemplari da noi posseduti, nondimeno non conosciamo alcuna traccia dell'esistenza di una prima."

28. Although Hülsen's conjecture, in his review of Hübner's book, that this edition also included as *pars terza* Giovanni Maggi, *Ornamenti di fabbriche antiche e moderne dell'alma*

città di Roma, is not proved. Hülsen, *Göttingische* . . . , pp. 275f.

29. Alfred de Reumont, *The Carafas of Maddaloni and Masaniello*, London, 1853, pp. 131, 139.

30. However, in a different article Ashby describes the copy preserved at the Topham Library at Eton College, and gives the date as appearing after the notation: "Le diverse edizioni dei 'Vestigi dell'Antichità di Roma' di Stefano Du Pérac." *La Bibliofilia*, XVI, 1914-15, p. 418.

31. Ashby does mention the presence of the eagle on the title-page for the *Vestigi*, which he describes on page 417 of the article cited in footnote 30.

BOOK REVIEWS

KURT WEITZMANN, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Studies in Manuscript Illumination, No. 4), Princeton University Press, 1951. Pp. xii + 218; 253 figs. $12.00.

This most recent contribution to the "Studies in Manuscript Illumination" is an integral part of the broad plan set forth in the key book of the series, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (1947), by the same author. In that work the forthcoming appearance of the two subsequent volumes was already indicated: *The Joshua Roll* (Studies No. 3), published in the following year, and the present book. Together these may complete that phase of the plan which relates to the problem of classical antiquity and the Macedonian Renaissance. But we may expect additional books that will further apply the principles of *Roll and Codex* to illuminated religious texts since, in fact, the original project grew out of the Princeton work on a corpus of Septuagint illustrations. Essentially they are all one book, in the sense that each successive volume is rather an expanded section or chapter of the *Roll and Codex*. Here are elaborated expositions of proposals which were originally given in briefer form in the basic study. Although there has been some fundamental disagreement with its basic principles and especially with their application, one cannot but admire the amazing productivity and methodical industry which these publications attest.

Since the new book on *Greek Mythology* is based on assumptions in the earlier volumes, some bibliographical items pertaining to an evaluation of those studies should be mentioned here, for they are not found in Weitzmann's book. *Roll and Codex* has been reviewed in THE ART BULLETIN, XXX, 1948, pp. 284-288; in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, VIᵉ sér., XXXV, 1949, p. 59, by Dmitri Tselos; *The Joshua Roll* was reviewed by Tselos in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, VIᵉ sér., XXXVI, 1949, p. 310, and discussed by the same author in THE ART BULLETIN, XXXII, 1950, pp. 274-290; an article which in effect reviews *Roll and Codex*, "De oorsprong van het geillustreerde boek," by A. W. Byvanck, appeared in the *Huldeboek Pater B. Kruytwagen*, 1949.

The thesis of Weitzmann's present book, if it can be briefly stated, is that the main channel through which classical themes entered Byzantine art of the tenth century was the illustrated classical manuscript; "that the number of illustrated classical texts still preserved in the Middle Byzantine period must have been quite considerable" (p. 87). These were copied or adapted by the illuminators from examples in libraries. From a study of two important Byzantine illuminated texts, both rich in mythological scenes—the Pseudo-Nonnus and the Pseudo-Oppian—as well as the rosette caskets with classical subjects, he makes specific deductions as to the precise nature of those classical books, presumably lost to us today. On the strength of his earlier argument "that the illustration of literary texts started as early as the beginning of the Hellenistic period and immediately on a very vast scale" (see *Roll and Codex*), he says that "the assumption of the existence of illustrated mythographical handbooks in the Roman period will, we hope, no longer appear as a startling novelty," for they become "only one more category among other classical texts which were adorned with pictures and were in wide circulation in the ancient world" (pp. vii-viii).

The book is organized according to three major divisions. The first is devoted primarily to two manuscripts with illustrations to the commentaries of Pseudo-Nonnus appended to the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus and containing mythological scenes. They are: Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, Cod. Taphou 14, of the eleventh century, and Vatican, Cod. gr. 1947, of the eleventh or twelfth century. The second division is given to an investigation of the mythological miniatures in the eleventh century manuscript of the *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Oppian (Venice, Marciana, Cod. gr. 479), while the third deals with similar subjects in the reliefs of the ivory caskets. Each pertinent scene is exhaustively examined and compared with relevant classical and mediaeval examples. The purpose of the detailed study is two-fold: first, to identify, as accurately as possible, the subject matter; and, secondly, to discover the texts which might most satisfactorily and completely explain each scene. The miniatures are then sorted into two categories: those which must have been derived from classical models, and others which must have been Byzantine inventions. Of course, it is the first group which is chiefly of interest in this book. The textual search is not merely of incidental iconographic value but of independent significance in itself. The reason for this is that Weitzmann proceeds on the principle that "If we could identify such a textual source, it would be the same one the illustrator used, since the coincidence of a series of mythographical episodes with a similarly coherent group of pictures accompanying them can hardly be considered as accidental" (p. 78).

So far as the antique comparative pictorial material in other media is concerned, these are no longer regarded as direct or indirect sources of the Byzantine manifestations. "It seems to us more reasonable to assume that the model was in the same medium, i.e. that it was an illustrated manuscript of classical antiquity which the Byzantine miniaturist might have seen in one of the great libraries of the capital" (pp. 77-78). Thus they become corroborative evidence confirming the existence of the hypothecated ancient books with illustrations.

What, then, were these classical manuscripts and when were their pictures copied by the Christian miniaturists and ivory carvers? For the Pseudo-Nonnus Weitzmann finds the principal model to have been a mythological handbook, probably the *Bibliotheke* of

Apollodorus written in the Hadrianic period and illustrated soon after. (The *Bibliotheke* was the only one to survive in reasonably complete state and was evidently the best known of those works in the Byzantine world.) This conclusion is based on "the profound agreement between seven mythological miniatures and the corresponding passages in Apollodorus, some of which explain these miniatures even better than the Pseudo-Nonnus text . . ." (p. 81). By the same method the miniatures of the Pseudo-Oppian and scenes on the ivory caskets are traced to Apollodorus and other antique sources. There are, indeed, additional mythological subjects whose textual justification (and consequently their pictorial prototypes) must be sought elsewhere. These are discussed in relation to the appropriate scenes, but a final section of the book summarizes the author's conclusions as to the range of the classical texts which provided the pictures serving as common models for ancient and Byzantine representations. The list which follows here is that given by Weitzmann, and includes those *illustrated antique manuscripts* which he believes to have been the direct source material, actually surviving and copied in the Middle Ages. The period when this copying was effected is placed with reasonable certainty in the tenth century, a period of active interest in classical learning and in the production of miniatures with strongly sympathetic understanding of classical style. The list includes: (1) The Iliad and Odyssey ("the most frequently illustrated texts in classical antiquity . . ."); (2) Dramas of Euripides ("next to the Homeric poems the most frequently illustrated texts . . ."); (3) a Heracles Epos; (4) an Achilles Epos (possibly the *Achilleis* of Statius, first century A.D.); (5) a Dionysus Epos; (6) Bucolic Poetry ("That this branch of literature was illustrated in books cannot be doubted."); possibly Theocritus' *Idyllia* and Moschus' *Europa*; (7) an Alexander Romance (an illustrated Pseudo-Callisthenes of the late classical period and an even earlier text on the same theme); (8) a Mythological Handbook (Apollodorus' *Bibliotheke*, and an earlier text of similar content).

Before undertaking an evaluation of the proposals of this book, it may be well to summarize some aspects of its net accomplishment, whether or not we agree with its conclusions. It does investigate thoroughly and conscientiously the subject matter, all possible textual sources, and a good part of the comparative ancient and mediaeval representations relating to a considerable number of mythological scenes of the Middle Byzantine period. A fresh and enriched insight is afforded to the understanding of the enthusiasm for classical antiquity in the art and culture of the tenth and eleventh centuries in the East Christian world. The book contains an extremely valuable compilation of critical and bibliographical information on the classical mythographers and the extent to which they were known in Byzantium. The continuation of the system of *Roll and Codex* by suggesting additional illustrated classical texts based on reflections in the Byzantine manuscripts—*if correct*—would decidedly "make an important contribution to a future history of ancient book illumina-

tion . . ." (p. 189). Finally, it must be said that the book is surely exemplary in its systematic organization, clarity of exposition, orderly development and progression in content, helpful recapitulations, documentation, and illustration. There could scarcely be any excuse for not at least understanding its propositions and the frequently complex ramifications required in their exposition.

Whatever helpful information might be gleaned from illustrations in *actually existing* classical manuscripts which antedate the Vatican Virgil and the Milan Iliad has been gathered and summarized by Weitzmann in *Roll and Codex* (pp. 47ff.). Such manuscripts are relatively insignificant fragments, but instructive nevertheless. Although only one of them, a papyrus in Paris of about the second century A.D., is a *literary* text (part of an unidentified romance), it is not demonstrably pertinent to the present inquiry. The other fragments contain technical and practical treatises in which diagrams or simple isolated figures accompany the text by way of elucidation (see *Roll and Codex*, figs. 35-43). The early (at least Hellenistic) existence of such diagrammatic illustrations is not at issue, nor has it been questioned. But with respect to the literary texts, we actually have nothing and are inclined to be most skeptical of the wholesale reconstructions of illustrated Hellenistic Homer and Euripides rotuli proposed by Weitzmann in his original study of the subject (cf. ART BULLETIN, XXX, pp. 286ff., and Byvanck, cited earlier). The Paris papyrus, assuming it to be correctly dated, tells us at least that any assumption of such illustrations in about the second century A.D. may not be unreasonable. But with this clue, and the fact that codex illustration was already well developed by the middle of the fourth century (cf. Calendar of 354, the Vatican Virgil, and Milan Iliad), we must assume that quite a number of illustrated manuscripts existed in that interval. Obviously the questions are: Which texts were illustrated? How may we prove this? Weitzmann has worked out principles and methods which he believes will answer these questions.

It is on the basis of those principles and the reconstructed Hellenistic manuscripts that he has most generously interspersed between the third century B.C. and the fourth century A.D. an almost incredible number of lost illustrated texts. There need be no objection to the number of hypothetical manuscripts as long as we can be convinced of the soundness of the foundations upon which they are postulated. The list of such examples mentioned earlier is a condensed summary from what is actually a much larger number inferred in the course of studying the individual miniatures. Those in the Pseudo-Oppian, for instance, lead to the supposition of some fifteen classical manuscripts which provided models for the mythological scenes alone. The most important single source proposed is a mythological handbook which, if not actually that of Apollodorus, would have been much like it. We have also mentioned the close agreement said to exist between the *Bibliotheke* text of Apollodorus and seven of the Pseudo-Nonnus miniatures. The fact remains, however, that for five

of those subjects (Birth of Zeus, Birth of Athena, Bellerophon, Birth of Dionysus, and Actaeon) the Pseudo-Nonnus text alone would have offered quite sufficient information for the purpose of the miniaturist and to that extent makes the classical source superfluous. Moreover, in the case of the Actaeon miniature (figs. 6, 10), the Pseudo-Nonnus text is by far preferable, since it speaks of the nakedness of Artemis where the classical source more gently mentions "bathing." Oddly enough, Weitzmann, in discussing the miniature, finds that "a strange feature in the miniature is the nakedness of Artemis . . ." (p. 16). In the instance of two additional miniatures (the birth of Athena, and the chariot race between Pelops and Oenomaus), the differences between the two texts are rather slight. There is primarily the fact that the classical text mentions Athena as "fully armed" at the strange birth. Otherwise, the only apparent point of textual disagreement between Apollodorus and Pseudo-Nonnus is to be found in the description of the pursuit of Athena by Hephaestus shown to the right of her birth. Weitzmann declares that the Apollodorus text is "even closer" to the miniature than is the text of Pseudo-Nonnus, simply because the former specifies that "she fled," as in fact she does. But this, if it is a difference, is of no consequence, for Pseudo-Nonnus says, "*Hephaestus pursued her, so that he might unite with her* . . . ."—it is merely a question of which divinity you are looking at. The matter of Athena's costume is almost equally unimportant, for we may well expect that the memory of at least those few and simple attributes (her helmet, shield, and spear) would in various ways have been preserved in the Greek East. She is properly attired in the Milan Iliad (fig. 144) and the Codex Romanus (fol. 234v), assuring us of her sartorially correct existence in the pictorial tradition at the threshold of mediaeval art both in the Greek East and Latin West. More important than such details is the fact that this pictorial conception in one essential respect negates the possibility of *any* prototype in ancient art from a period later than the archaic Greek age. Athena, *following both texts precisely*, is represented as a small figure partly emerging from the head of Zeus. Significantly, the only comparison adduced for this aspect of the scene, since "a connecting link with the Hellenistic-Roman period is missing," is a black-figured vase with the same literal portrayal, unthinkable in developed classical art.

The miniature of Pelops and Oenomaus (figs. 2, 3) requires "a fuller text such as that of Apollodorus . . . for a thorough explanation of the miniature" (p. 81), according to Weitzmann. While this is true, it is equally true that the miniatures illustrate their own (Pseudo-Nonnus) text much better than that of Apollodorus, for the latter relates that Oenomaus was entangled in the reins and dragged to death, details not present in the illustration. The Rape of Persephone (fig. 48) presents some differences between the texts (although only insofar as they relate to the secondary figures), favoring the Apollodorus as a more adequate basis for the interpretation of the scene.

There are, in addition to the subjects mentioned, at least five other mythological representations which the author identifies in the Pseudo-Oppian in Venice and relates to the Apollodorus text (this does not include scenes which are repeated). But we cannot (within the limits of a review) undertake to examine *all* of the miniatures which supposedly depend on the illustrated Apollodorus. In every case there are difficulties, similar to those just encountered, which thoroughly undermine our faith in the theory that a *Bibliotheke* with illustrations ever existed. Even if somehow it were true, the method and its demonstration does not make it convincing. Since the group of seven scenes is acceptable to the author as sufficient evidence for the Apollodorus theory—in fact, his strongest case, and also the most important among the hypothetical examples—it may serve as a typical group in the appraisal of the method of *Greek Mythology*. Thus far, it would seem that texts other than Pseudo-Nonnus itself would not be absolutely requisite to any of the miniatures. Yet there is almost a compulsion on the part of the author to promote the Apollodorus hypothesis at the expense of a really quite good Pseudo-Nonnus text. For example, after comparing the passages of each text as they describe the Artemis and Actaeon episode, instead of stating that Pseudo-Nonnus is adequate for its miniature (actually it is better than the earlier text for this scene), he states a *negative* conclusion: "The Pseudo-Nonnus text adds nothing further to the understanding of the Jerusalem and Vatican miniatures" (p. 81).

Roman sarcophagi are introduced into the argument to support the proposal of an illustrated Apollodorus. Five of the miniatures illustrate subjects found also on sarcophagi and are said to follow "the same iconography," therewith confirming the supposition "that an illustrated Apollodorus served as a common source for the sarcophagi and for the Pseudo-Nonnus miniatures" (p. 84). Examination of those sarcophagi tells us that none shows any cogently close relationship to the miniatures. Although their subjects are the same, manuscripts and sarcophagi are basically different from each other in their representation and show no consistent pattern of relationship to the "parent" text, Apollodorus. The chariot race (figs. 3-5) is a case in point, for the sarcophagi are alike in showing Oenomaus "dragged to death" but in the miniatures he stands, unhappy, in his chariot. From these and other indications an argument favoring their common textual and pictorial derivation would fail. Much the same may be said of the miniature of Artemis and Actaeon. The sculptor represents Artemis as a draped figure; Actaeon with horns to symbolize his transformation (figs. 6-8). For the miniaturist, the goddess is nude while the hunter's body is that of a deer, his head human. In this method of interpreting Actaeon, Weitzmann properly recognizes "a Byzantine invention for the sake of a clearer pictorialization of the text" (p. 16). The two works are treated in fundamentally and characteristically distinct fashion, leaving only one specific connecting element between the relief and the miniature:

the lower left dog who bites the breast of Actaeon. Further comparisons, which will not be pursued here, would only tell of similar difficulties which repeatedly disturb a theoretically neat congruence.

The classical sculptures, paintings, and mosaics introduced into the study of the miniatures provide a valuable contribution. But, we think, they could be more useful if they were not embedded in an involved system which practically requires the acceptance of the entire chain of extremely circumstantial developments. Without that restriction the comparative material might fall into place together with additional antique and mediaeval examples, undeniably in the background of the Middle Byzantine renaissance. The methodical purity of determining picture cycles and proper texts is an admirable ideal, but it can become a categoric defect when applied to the exclusion of other means of pictorial survival or revival.

Insofar as it applies to the present book, Apollodorus is considered to be derived, in turn, from earlier models; "the illustrations we assume to have existed in the *Bibliotheke* were most likely not made for this handbook but its models" (p. 195). Three miniatures with scenes depicting the Argonauts which can be explained equally well by the *Bibliotheke* or the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius indicate to the author "that it is by no means improbable that the former was already illustrated and used as a model by the illustrators of the latter" (p. 144). Since a Heracles scene is but partially explained by Apollodorus, while the rest of the miniature appears to be based upon a second adventure of the hero, "in all probability we have to assume an older and fuller text of the life of Heracles as source" (p. 144). This procedure becomes oddly suggestive of a reversed telescopic progression. It is combined with a succession of balanced equations in which several related miniatures, plus single text which best accounts for them in coherent fashion, equals one illustrated source.

The literary sources discovered or applied by this method are often of great value and always worth knowing. Often new material for philology is thus revealed and the history of art illuminated at the same time. Whatever may be the difficulties in attempting the demonstration of a theorem of lost illustrations for such texts, those same literary sources, unadorned, become only slightly diminished in their value to our studies. We are in a better position since those books document available information, and it is such knowledge which could and did enter into pictorial expression without necessarily furnishing a painted prototype. The ninth and tenth centuries in Byzantium were a period of learned and avid collection of classical literature. Classical epics, tragedies, mythologies, and romances figure among the extant manuscripts of the period and

others, since lost, are known from selections in anthologies compiled at the time. Perhaps much of the mythology in the manuscripts here under discussion was outlined and explained to the artists by the learned men in the scriptoria or court libraries. For models of painting style and composition, extant works of art in various media could have been used quite directly. Many of Weitzmann's comparisons would provide the needed clues concerning types which may have been known. Such suggestions as these cannot be new to the author of *Greek Mythology*. They must have been weighed and rejected as less desirable than the system about which he has written.

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SAMUEL GUYER, *Grundlagen mittelalterlicher abendländischer Baukunst. Beiträge zu der vom antiken Tempel zur kreuzförmigen Basilika des abendländischen Mittelalters führenden Entwicklung,* Zurich, Benziger Verlag, 1950. Pp. 199; 40 figs., 11 pls.

The modest size and format of this volume, which suggest that it is a mere handbook, do not give an adequate impression of its importance. In my opinion, it is a milestone in the development of Paleochristian and Early Mediaeval studies. The author is not only a noted explorer and field archaeologist but also a thorough scholar, whose training included a solid foundation of theological studies. His reputation rests on numerous articles in periodicals and on books that are generally regarded as basic references.[1] The present volume is, to a certain extent, a résumé of his earlier works, some of which are even quoted verbatim. It is not, however, a mere rehash of old material but the summation of a lifetime of scholarly research in the field of Paleochristian architecture by a man who, at the age of seventy-two, feels he is finally ready to make some broad generalizations about his subject. In harmony with this breadth of scope, Guyer's prose style is simple, yet rich with understanding. He is modest, yet very persuasive.

As indicated by the subtitle of the book, Guyer's main concern is with the origin of the cruciform church, and in his Foreword he urges the importance of this problem "als eines der wichtigsten, wenn nicht überhaupt als das wichtigste Problem der mittelmeerisch-abendländischen Architekturgeschichte." By a cruciform church he does not merely mean a structure whose horizontal outline on the ground resembles a cross with an elongated western arm. He is also think-

1. *Rusafa, die Wallfahrtsstadt des heiligen Sergios,* Berlin, 1926 (in collaboration with Harry Spanner); *Meriamlik und Korykos: Zwei christliche Ruinenstätten des rauhen Kilikiens* (Publications of the American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor: *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua,* II), London, 1930 (in collaboration with Ernst Emil Herzfeld); *Die christlichen Denkmäler des ersten Jahrtausends in der Schweiz,* Leipzig, 1907; section on Rusafa in Friedrich Sarre and Ernst Emil Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet (Forschungen zur islamischen Kunst,* 1), Berlin, 1911.

ing of the elevation and he means a church which, in its fullest development, consists of such a plan with the additional features of an independent crossing (*ausgeschiedene Vierung*) and, above this crossing, a dome surmounted by a tower. It is a complex structure (*Gruppenbau*) but is capable of beautiful harmonic composition along the dynamic horizontal axis of its nave (described as a *Raumweg*) and around the dynamic vertical axis of its crossing ("ein vollständig neuer Typus . . . , bei dem ein kompliziertes System einander über-und untergeordneter Baumassen in einem zentralen Turm gipfelte"—p. 11).

After contrasting this cruciform church with its antecedent, the Greco-Roman temple, Guyer inquires, first, as to where, when, and how, and, secondly, as to why the new concept might have developed. His solutions to these problems fill the two remaining sections of the book. His answers to the first set of problems are that the cruciform church originated in Inner Asia Minor in the course of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, as a result of combining the traditional forms of the martyrium and of the basilica. The martyrium was a centralized compact type of structure arranged centripetally around a vertical axis and was frequently crowned by a dome. It was likely to be lofty in proportions, producing the effect of a tower or even being surmounted by an actual tower. The essential fact about a basilica, on the other hand, was its horizontal axis. It was an oblong hall, usually with aisles, terminating in an apse at its eastern end. Guyer believes that in this particular part of Asia Minor and in this particular period the two forms coalesced in such a way as to produce the cruciform church. According to him, the Greek cross variant of the martyrium, with four equal arms and a dome and tower at its center, was influenced by the basilica to the extent that the west arm of the martyrium was elongated into a nave and the east arm was replaced by an apse or, more rarely, was extended eastward by the addition of an apse. The resultant composition possessed all the essentials of the fully developed church of cruciform type.

Turning now to Guyer's second inquiry, as to why such a fusion of forms should have occurred, we may summarize his thought as follows. The fusion is an architectural expression of the combination within the Christian liturgy itself of congregational and memorial traditions. The congregational tradition is associated with the basilican form (as indicated, incidentally, by the familiar precept in the *Apostolical Constitutions* that a church designed for congregational services should be "long, like a ship"—Bk. II, Sect. VII [LVII]). The memorial tradition, on the other hand, is associated with the centralized form of the martyrium. In order to explain the latter association, Guyer has to investigate the funerary and commemorative backgrounds of Christianity in Classical and even in Prehistoric times. He finds three relevant lines of development which originate in the cist grave, the sacred High Place, and the sacred cave. From the first he derives the cruciform plan itself, since a cist grave was ordinarily composed of a square central chamber with burial niches on three

sides and the entrance, sometimes in the form of a portico or antechamber, on the fourth side. When this group was brought above ground as a free-standing monument, it tended to preserve some of its subterranean character in that its exterior was a simple cube out of which the interior room and niches still appeared to have been excavated, the corners of the cube between the niches being filled with masonry or with subordinate rooms. In the fourth century A.D., when Roman architecture abandoned its ponderous massiveness in favor of a more articulated style, the fill at the corners of the cube was likely to be omitted, leaving a structure whose cruciform scheme was visible from the exterior as well as the interior. When adopted by the Christians, this plan was confirmed as a commemorative symbol by its resemblance to the Cross. From the sacred High Place Guyer derives the tower-like character of the martyrium. Originally certain mountain tops had been associated with the ominous power of ancestors and heroes; and the same sanctity had attached to trees and later to man-made vertical structures (*turmartig aufstrebende Formen*), including menhirs, tumuli, pyramids and, finally, Christian tombs and tomb churches such as Sta. Costanza at Rome. Thirdly, Guyer notes that a Neolithic cave cult of the Mother Goddess also became associated with the cult of heroes and that the form of the cave was brought above ground in monumental masonry construction—as in the case of the cist grave—and was perpetuated in cupuliform memorials such as the tombs of the Roman emperors and, more simply, in the hemispherical form of the dome, which served as an honorific symbol, like a ciborium, on top of Christian tomb structures and martyriums. According to Guyer, all three of these ancient traditions converge upon and determine the form and the symbolic significance—the architectural iconography—of the cruciform martyrium crowned with a dome in a tower. Therefore, he believes that when this form was transferred to the sanctuary of a basilica, thereby producing a cruciform church, it brought with it all its ancient symbolism and served to commemorate Christ, whose death and resurrection were celebrated at the altar below it, and also to commemorate any saints whose relics might be entombed at the altar or in the *confessio* underneath. The sanctuary, thus signalized and given commemorative meaning, was the focus toward which were directed the basilican elements, the nave and apse, representing the congregational aspect of the church. "Der (Vierungs-) Turm über der quadratischen Vierung der Kreuzkirche hat also sepulkralen Charakter; er ist nichts anderes als die von antiken Grab-Malen übernommene, gen Himmel ragende turmartige Form eines christlichen Heroengrabs" (p. 169). "Zusammenfassend können wir sagen, dass am Anfang der Entwicklung der Kreuzkirche sehr wahrscheinlich grabmalartig aufragende kreuzförmige Martyrien standen, die aber . . . . wegen der Abhaltung gottesdienstlicher Feiern im Osten eine Apsis erhielten, während der westliche Kreuzarm zum Gemeinderaum verlängert wurde" (p. 114). "Denn selbst wenn der Altar auch keine Reliquien in sich barg, so war er doch die Stätte,

an der bei der Messe die Passion Christi, also Tod und
Auferstehung des Erlösers gefeiert wurden; er hatte
also auch sepulkrale Bedeutung, und so verstehen wir
es, dass man den um den Altar gelagerten Chorteilen
einer Gemeindekirche Formen eines Martyrions, in
diesem Falle also Kreuzform, Vierungskuppel and
Vierungsturm gab" (p. 115).

After tracing the evolution of the cruciform church
and indicating its implicit meaning, Guyer outlines its
subsequent history in Western Europe. He fairly grinds
his heel on the racist narcissism of German writers who
have claimed that this type of church, which provided
the basic theme for all subsequent ecclesiastical architec-
ture in the West, was an invention of the Carolingian
period and an expression of the Nordic-Germanic spirit.
"Wie wir nun aber gesehen haben, ist die christliche
Kreuzkirche schon Jahrhunderte vor dem Frühmit-
telalter im frühchristlichen Kleinasien entstanden; es
steht also fest, dass nordisch-germanischer Rassen-
charakter mit der Entstehung des führenden und
wichtigsten mittelalterlichen Kirchen-Typus gar nichts
zu tun hat" (p. 193). Indeed, he feels that the
Carolingian period largely misunderstood the church
form it had inherited and was only just able to transmit
the idea to subsequent periods which could understand
and further develop it. "Das abendländische Frühmit-
telalter hat dann allerdings diese Baugedanken auf-
gegriffen und sie bald mit mehr, noch öfters aber mit
recht wenig Verständnis wiedergegeben; doch sind sie
auf diese Weise wenigstens gerettet worden, so dass
sie für spätere Zeiten erhalten blieben. Und dann ist
es ja an der Schwelle zum hohen Mittelalter und
besonders seit dem Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts dem
Westen gelungen, diese vom Früchristentum übernom-
menen Gedanken auf wirklich fruchtbare und selb-
ständige Weise weiter zu entwickeln" (p. 143).

Inevitably, such a brief summary of Guyer's thesis
omits many of his finer distinctions and shadings of
meaning. Thus, he is careful to avoid giving the im-
pression that the developed cruciform church normally
remains a dichotomy, as if a basilica had simply been
pushed against a martyrium. He insists that the fusion
between the two is complete. "So war ein *zentralisie-
render Longitudinalbau*, oder wenn man lieber will,
ein *longitudinaler Zentralbau* entstanden; d. h. der in
der Vierung zusammengefasste kreuzförmige Zentral-
raum nahm in der Ost-West-Richtung plötzlich den
Charakter einer Längskirche an, oder noch anders
ausgedrückt: ein west-östlich orientierter Längsraum
erweitert sich mit einem Male vor dem Chor nach oben
(Vierungskuppel und Vierungsturm) und nach den
Seiten (Kreuzarme) zu einem zentralisierenden
Raumgebilde. So haben wir hier also eine Zwitterbildung
vor uns, deren *Wesen durch die Spannung zwischen
zentralisierenden und longitudinalen Baugedanken* be-
stimmt wurde" (p. 156). "Das Querschiff der früh-
christlichen Kreuzkirche ist—vielleicht mit Ausnahme
der römischen Querschiffbasiliken—in der Regel nicht
eine einzeln für sich bestehende Grösse, nicht ein einem

Längsbau erst nachträglich angegliederter Breitbau,
sondern Vierung, Westarm und Kreuzarme sind in
der Idee von allem Anfang an als ein einheitlicher
Gedanke zusammen da. Sie sind integrierende Bestand-
teile eines organischen Ganzen, nämlich des sepulkralen
Kreuzbaus, mag dessen Längsarm länger oder kürzer,
ein-oder dreischiffig gestaltet sein" (p. 84).

Guyer's main thesis, that the cruciform church is a
composite of the martyrium and the basilica, is alto-
gether convincing to this reviewer. The idea is not a
completely new one. It has been advanced already by
various scholars and from various points of view
(Graf, Soteriou, the Harveys, Grabar, Krautheimer,
Lassus, and Guyer himself), but it is presented most
thoroughly and persuasively in the volume before us.
Guyer is surely also right in his insistence upon the
extreme importance of the development which led to
the cruciform church. "Dieser Schritt, der von der
klassischen Antike zur Entstehung des kreuzförmigen
abendländischen Kirchenbaus des Mittelalters geführt
hat, ist einer der wichtigsten, ja vielleicht der grund-
legendste und folgenschwerste, den die Baukunst des
Abendlandes je getan hat" (p. 24). At the same time,
his intense focus on the problem seems to have induced
him to oversimplify somewhat. Thus, he tends to present
the evolution of the cruciform church as a unilateral
development which began precisely in Inner Asia
Minor in the fourth century and spread thence to the
rest of the world. "Die reiche Entwicklung dieser
Kreuzkirchen auf dem Boden Lykaoniens und Kap-
padokiens lassen mich vermuten, dass wir hier die
Heimat der Kreuzkirche zu suchen haben und dass sie
sich wahrscheinlich von hier aus in alle Welt verbreitet
hat" (p. 56). As a result, he sometimes finds himself
confronted with examples that do not readily conform
to such a simple filiation because they are either too
early or too atypical in form, or both. For instance,
it seems to me highly improbable that the great churches
built at Rome in the fourth century with tau plans
and through transepts were mere simplifications of the
cruciform type found in Inner Asia Minor. Surely the
court architects of Constantine did not look to those
remote highlands for inspiration. Yet Guyer considers
this a distinct possibility (pp. 106-107). More likely
the Roman churches were an elaboration of a type
found nearer at hand, such as the simple box-like church
with three aisles and a transverse chancel built in
Aquileia at the beginning of the fourth century.[2] Like-
wise, it may be Guyer's desire to maintain the priority
of Inner Asia Minor that causes him to exclude the
earlier Church of St. John at Ephesus from the category
of cruciform churches (pp. 74-76, 79). Its plan clearly
cannot be derived from Inner Asia Minor because of
its radically different treatment; and its early date,
probably in the fourth century, also militates against
such a derivation. For these reasons, perhaps, Guyer
writes it off as not having a true cruciform plan at all,
on the ground that it is too loosely organized (*eine
Bau-Gruppe, nicht ein Gruppenbau*). Actually, how-

2. Paolo Verzone, *L'architettura religiosa dell' alto medio evo nell' Italia settentrionale*, Milan, 1942, fig. 12.

ever, we see at Ephesus the cruciform church in the very process of incorporation around a preexistent tower-like square martyrium which very probably was covered by a dome. Here, then, is a demonstration *in vitro* of the development which Guyer himself has so clearly outlined, and any looseness of organization merely indicates an archaic phase of that development. The essential elements are all present and in proper relation to each other—which is surely the main thing to consider. Guyer himself has held the same opinion in the past. In 1932 he compared the Cathedral of Pisa, obviously a cruciform church, with this first Church of St. John at Ephesus,[3] and in 1933 he noted that the second Church of St. John at Ephesus, erected in the sixth century, took its fully developed cruciform plan from its predecessor, the first church on the spot.[4] While it is true that the evolution we witness in this first church appears to be unique in the vicinity, on the basis of available evidence, yet it may well have contributed to the general development of the cruciform type. Finally, Guyer's interpretation of the Byzantine church with central dome (pp. 97-98) seems to be another instance of his oversimplification and exaggerated loyalty to the cruciform church plan of Inner Asia Minor. In his opinion, the Byzantine central dome began its career above the crossing of this imported plan and later was moved westward to the middle of the building. "Sie wurde als das wichtigste Bauglied schon sehr früh von ihrem Platz vor der Apsis in die Mitte des Baus gerückt." But surely it is not true that the Asia Minor cruciform plan, representing a fusion of the basilica and the martyrium, lies at the root of Byzantine church development. That whole development tended, rather, to adhere to the purely central forms of the martyrium tradition and was influenced far less by the basilica. Consequently, the normal Byzantine church with central dome appears to be a direct descendant from the martyrium alone.[5]

In spite of Guyer's occasional tendency to overstate his case, his insistence on the great importance and wide influence of the cruciform church plan seems fully warranted. But I would like to raise the question whether its place of origin must necessarily be sought in Inner Asia Minor, in Lycaonia and Cappadocia, rather than in the south coastal regions of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia. The interior, with its upland steppes and bleak rim of mountains, is an isolated area and apparently always has been so. In the early centuries of Christianity it was a haunt of hermits, and monasteries grew up amid its inaccessible fastnesses. Ramsay compared Kara Dagh, the Black Mountain, to Sinai.[6] Surely this does not seem like the setting where a basic new concept of church design would originate.

New architectural styles usually arise amid the competitive creativity and the contentious criticisms of city life. Guyer claims that the region, being free of inhibiting classical traditions (*ein kulturelles Neuland*), was all the better prepared to create the new type of church (p. 57). More likely it was a cultural vacuum, unprepared to create anything. This impression is confirmed by the well known letter from St. Gregory of Nyssa to his friend, Bishop Amphilochius of Iconium, written in about 380.[7] Gregory describes in detail a martyrium he wishes to erect and asks Amphilochius' advice as to ways and means. The whole tone of the letter is like that of some cultivated eighteenth century gentleman in the American Colonies who might know well enough what kind of mansion he wanted to build, but, finding himself in a provincial spot where workmen could not be trusted and the usual materials were not available, would write to a friend in England for practical advice and reliable craftsmen so that he might overcome the handicaps of his situation. To be sure, Amphilochius lived in Iconium and not on the coast, but that city was the capital of Lycaonia and had wide contacts with the outside world. The fact, which has so impressed Guyer and others, that many cruciform churches survive in the interior can be explained by the inaccessibility and sparse population of the region, which largely protected its churches from invasions and rebuildings, and by the lack of wood, which necessitated the use of durable stone vaults in their construction—a point stressed by Gregory.

If we now turn to the south coast, we find a different situation. This area, studded with towns and cities, was in close touch with the rest of the Mediterranean world and, above all, with the great metropolis of Antioch, within whose patriarchate Cilicia was situated. Surely it is reasonable to suppose that architectural influence might have flowed from Antioch into all these coastal provinces and that the local architects, stimulated by the ideas from Syria, might have been the first to combine the martyrium and the basilica into the cruciform plan with elongated nave, apse, crossing tower, and crossing dome. If so, the monastic churches of the hinterland may have been mere provincial reflections of the coastal development, which have fortunately survived long after their prototypes have perished. A convincing demonstration of the spread of Syrian influence along the south coast and up into the interior is provided by Bell's account of her trip in 1905 along this very route.[8] As one follows her progress from one church to the next, noting their positions on the map, he can observe a striking continuity, as if a stylistic chain reaction were occurring before his eyes. This is true of the aesthetic character of the successive ex-

3. "Der Dom von Pisa und das Rätsel seiner Entstehung," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, Neue Folge IX, 1932, pp. 363-365.

4. "Die Bedeutung der christlichen Baukunst des inneren Kleinasiens für die allgemeine Kunstgeschichte," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXIII, 1933, p. 96.

5. André Grabar, *Martyrium: Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, 1: *Architecture* (Collège de France: Fondation Schlumberger pour les études byzantines),

Paris, 1946, pp. 369-378.

6. William Mitchell Ramsay and Gertrude Lowthian Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches*, London, 1909, pp. 20-21.

7. Josef Strzygowski, *Kleinasien, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 71-90.

8. "Notes on a Journey Through Cilicia and Lycaonia," *Revue archéologique*, Series 4, VII, 1906, pp. 1-29, 385-414; VIII, 1906, pp. 7-36, 225-252, 390-401; and IX, 1907, pp. 18-30.

amples (cf. the Syrian classical quality of Budrum, north of the Gulf of Alexandretta,[9] with the rustic version of the same composition at "Daouleh, No. 6," on Kara Dagh in the hinterland above Cilicia[10]). The same relationship is evident in the types of vaulting and stonework (cf. "Korghoz [Korykos, in Cilicia] basilica 3"[11] with "Daouleh, No. 1";[12] also cf. the cruciform martyrium at Ak Kale, in Cilicia,[13] with Mahaletch, on Kara Dagh[14]). As to the architectural originality of the south coastal provinces, which would enable their architects to develop a new church plan, we have evidence in a number of surviving structures, some of which indicate a particular interest in the transept (Perge, Korykos) and at least two of which (Korykos, Meriamlik) actually reveal the desire to incorporate a central type of martyrium within an oblong plan.[15] Guyer himself has admitted that the architecture of Inner Asia Minor was influenced by that of the south coast in some particulars, including vaulting.[16] I wonder if he is prevented from going further and granting priority to this coastal region in the development of the whole cruciform church by the apparent scarcity in the area of one feature of such a church, namely the crossing tower with dome. To him this feature is the essential. "Ist doch die frühchristliche Kreuzkirche des Ostens in erster Linie als Memorialbau aufzufassen, bei dessen Entstehung unter dem Einfluss uralter Vorstellungen der hochragende Vierungsturm, das 'Mal,' mit der Vierungskuppel den Anfang der ganzen Entwicklung bildete" (p. 106). Since crossing towers with domes are as common in the hinterland as they are rare on the coast, Guyer naturally assumes that the original home of this essential feature, and, therefore, of the cruciform church developed around it, was in the interior and not on the coast.

By a curious coincidence, a book appeared at the same time as Guyer's which completely reverses this whole picture (E. Baldwin Smith, *The Dome: A Study in the History of Ideas*, Princeton University Press, 1950). It demonstrates—convincingly, to my mind—that the dome was not an exception in Syrian architecture but was a characteristic feature of it and was spread by Syrian influence to neighboring regions, especially to the south coast of Asia Minor.[17] These facts have not been known because most of the domes were constructed of wood and have perished. In view of this new information, Guyer might be willing to adjust his otherwise admirably convincing account of the cruciform type of church by transferring its place of origin from the interior of Asia Minor to the south coast. For we can now see that the church of Alahan Monastir (or Kodja Kalessi) in Cilicia, which was

apparently built in the fifth century, must represent an early phase in the development of that type. Quite certainly its crossing tower was capped by a Syrian wooden dome.[18] If we replace the dome upon the tower in imagination, the building as a whole will appear as an archaic prototype, but an entirely convincing one, of Guyer's cruciform church. The tower is the martyrium element and corresponds very well to his description of the typical crossing tower as *der hochragende Vierungsturm, das "Mal," mit der Vierungskuppel.* Yet the space under it has been expanded fore and aft by a nave with aisles and a choir arm with apse, showing the influence of the basilican tradition. The transept arms are still only adumbrated, because the side aisles and gallery are carried across them. In order to produce the outlines of a standard cruciform church, we have only to imagine the bays on the flanks of the tower as being opened up into transverse arms with transverse roofs. In order to produce the outlines of the specific type most commonly found in Inner Asia Minor, we need only go two steps further: first, imagining the nave aisles to be entirely omitted, and, secondly, imagining the wooden roof and dome to be replaced by tunnel vaults and a dome of masonry. Moreover, Alahan Monastir possesses many of the traits which Guyer believes the cruciform church carried with it to Western Europe, such as verticality, tension between the horizontal and vertical axes, the articulated wall, mathematical clarity, and dependence upon the bay as the unit of organization. Finally, we may note the features of Alahan Monastir, such as pastophoria, triple apses, diaphragm arches, compound piers, and niche squinches on colonnettes, which denote Syrian influence. Guyer himself recognizes this influence upon it (p. 100), and Smith goes so far as to say that in fact it "should be considered an Antiochene church."[19] In this particular example, therefore, we do seem to witness the primary development of the cruciform church on the south coast of Asia Minor under the impulsion of ideas from Antioch. Such a conclusion conforms to Guyer's own insistence on the importance of that city—"Antiocheia, die Stadt, die wie keine andere bis weit nach Asien hinein ihren kulturellen Einfluss ausübte."[20]

In conclusion I should like to emphasize again the excellence of this book, even if I have ventured to question a few of its points. Our understanding of Christian church architecture and, indeed, of the Christian tradition itself is enhanced by Guyer's splendid synthesis.

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9. *ibid.*, VII, p. 5, fig. 2.

10. *ibid.*, VIII, p. 245, fig. 19.

11. *ibid.*, VIII, pp. 24-27, figs. 16-19.

12. *ibid.*, VIII, pp. 233-236, figs. 5-8.

13. *ibid.*, VII, pp. 390-395, figs. 4-9.

14. Ramsay and Bell, *op.cit.*, figs. 202-204; correction of Ak Kale plan, p. 340 n. 2.

15. Hans Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien*, Leipzig, 1908, figs.

19, 21; Herzfeld and Guyer, *op.cit.* (*Meriamlik*, etc.), figs. 46, 109, 130.

16. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXIII, 1933, pp. 99-102.

17. *op.cit.*, p. 125.

18. Smith, *op.cit.*, pp. 125-126; figs. 194, 195.

19. *op.cit.*, p. 125.

20. "Vom Wesen der byzantinischen Kunst," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, Neue Folge VIII, 1931, p. 131.

JUAN AINAUD, JOSÉ GUDIOL, and F.-P. VERRIÉ, *Catálogo Monumental de España: La Ciudad de Barcelona*, Madrid, Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1947. 2 vols., pp. 398 + 89; 1,420 illus., 48 plans.

Barcelona is a city of many paradoxes. Although a great industrial center, it has little of the sordid griminess that one associates with its counterparts in other countries and, in spite of being the largest and most modern city in the Spanish peninsula, it has maintained its mediaeval core, not as a museum piece but as the continuing center of municipal life. The nineteenth and twentieth century city, with its miles of symmetrical avenues and industrial suburbs, has surrounded but not too violently encroached upon the mediaeval Barcelona and, although a few necessary modern arteries have taken their toll, a remarkably large proportion of the older city remains unchanged. In this region, between the Plaza de Cataluña and the harbor, church and state alike continue to function in Gothic buildings that are best reached on foot through tortuous streets. The cathedral, the Palacio de la Generalidad, the Lonja, the ancient hospitals, private houses, and the arsenal convey a sense of the teeming activity of a prosperous mediaeval seaport that brings the Middle Ages alive in a startling manner. When, having passed the cathedral and entered the thirteenth century house in the Calle de Paradís now occupied by the Centro Excursionista de Cataluña, one meets in the courtyard three gigantic columns of a Roman temple, still standing in their original locations, one realizes the rich layers of archaeological stratification upon which this great city has been built. To the enquiring art historian Barcelona has everything to offer—Roman, pre-Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque monuments to suit every taste, with the added advantage of a sound tradition of scholarship, which has shown itself in the creation of distinguished libraries, museums, and photographic archives.

Here, then, is ample justification for devoting to a single city two volumes in the series of *Catálogos monumentales* in which Don Manuel Gómez-Moreno and others have done so much toward the orderly recording of the monuments of certain of the provinces of Spain. *La Ciudad de Barcelona* follows the general pattern established by Sr. Gómez-Moreno in his volumes on the provinces of León and Zamora—that of a volume of text, containing succinct descriptions of the monuments, but without bibliographical apparatus of any kind, and an accompanying volume of illustrations.

The text is divided into seven chapters, dealing with Roman, pre-Romanesque, and Romanesque Barcelona, the structure of the city in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, religious architecture of the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries, public buildings of the same period, and civil architecture for private uses. Although no limits are defined, the authors do not carry their work beyond the traditional architecture of the nineteenth century, for the very characteristically Catalan products of Gaudí and his followers at the end of that century, such as the church of the Sagrada familia, the Palau

de la musica catalana and the Parque Guell are not included. The descriptions of individual monuments, although necessarily brief, contain the pertinent information that is needed, although the inclusion of a good map of the city would have been helpful. The illustrations are sometimes smaller than one wishes they might be in view of the quality and interest of the photographs they reproduce, but it is a commendable feat to have included so many of such great variety. These volumes will prove stimulating to those who have not known the delights of Barcelona and nostalgic to those who have.

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JOSÉ GUDIOL RICART and JUAN ANTONIO GAYA NUÑO, *Arquitectura y escultura románicas (Ars Hispaniae, Historia universal del arte hispanico*, Vol. v). Madrid, Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1948. Pp. 400; 542 illus. $12.00.

JUAN ANTONIO GAYA NUÑO, *El románico en la provincia de Soria*. Madrid, Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1946. Pp. 283; 102 pls., 67 figs.

These two very different books—both good of their kind—indicate the continuing interest in Spanish Romanesque studies. In one Sr. Gaya Nuño describes in detail for a scholarly audience the monuments of the single province of Soria. In the other, in collaboration with the versatile Don José Gudiol, he presents a more popular view of the Romanesque architecture and sculpture of the entire peninsula for the general reader.

Arquitectura y escultura románicas is the fifth of a thirteen-volume series covering the general history of Spanish art. The book is divided into four sections, dealing with (1) Catalonia, (2) Navarre and Aragon, (3) Léon, Castile, and Galicia, and (4) Portugal. The text is descriptive, avoiding as a rule references to archaeological and chronological controversies, and is without annotations, but the bibliography, which lists the major books and articles on the period—both Spanish and foreign—indicates that the authors are amply familiar with the literature of their subject, even though the form of the series does not allow specific references to be included.

The illustrations are, however, the great interest of the book, for there are 542 of them—mostly on a generous scale—in a book of 400 pages, and the text, although concise and informative, is necessarily subordinated to them. The rotogravure process, with its striking contrasts of light and shade, heightens the dramatic effect of many of the photographs, although some detail is necessarily lost thereby.

It is safe to say that in no other single volume readily available today can so fine and representative a series of illustrations of Spanish Romanesque buildings and their sculptures be found. While the specialist will always return to the great works—now all too difficult

to obtain—of Puig i Cadafalch, Gómez-Moreno, Kingsley Porter, and Gaillard for the full picture of Romanesque Spain, Sr. Gudiol and Sr. Gaya Nuño have given a broad view of the subject that cannot be obtained from any single work of their illustrious predecessors. Consequently they have performed a useful service in bringing within the covers of a single volume so admirably chosen a series of photographs of Spanish Romanesque monuments and so much that will be of interest to the general reader.

In Sr. Gaya Nuño's other book the rôles of text and illustrations are reversed, for he offers a detailed study of Sorian Romanesque that would satisfy the most exacting specialist. During the Romanesque period Soria was not far from the Moorish frontier. The interlaced arches of the cloister of San Juan de Duero and the two curious *templetes* within the church itself have long attracted attention, and there is a certain majesty to the façade of the church of Santo Domingo. Socially and artistically, however, Soria has been a somewhat backward region, and the Romanesque churches of the province are predominantly single-aisled buildings of slight distinction. In the region of San Esteban de Gormaz are found arcaded porticoes along the south walls of certain churches, similar to those that are so characteristic of the Romanesque of Segovia. The sculpture of the province is generally not outstanding, for the genius of Santo Domingo de Silos, Fromista, Léon, and Santiago did not touch this frontier region. Nevertheless, for a just appraisal of Spanish mediaeval art it is well that the plains as well as the heights should be known. Twenty years ago, when I first went to Soria, there was no such reliable guide to the region as this, and one explored village after village, hoping that the next might contain a building of the interest of Iguácel or Quintanilla de las Viñas. Agreeable as are the pleasures of exploration, it is of real benefit to have so sound a study as Sr. Gaya Nuño has now offered of the Romanesque of Soria.

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ENZO CARLI, *Le Sculture del Duomo di Orvieto*, Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, Bergamo, 1947. Pp. 53; 70 pls.

This is not the kind of picture book for the general reader to which we have become accustomed. Complete pictorial editions of important monuments are too often nothing but a cheaper substitute for a set of the photographs from which such illustrations are produced. The text, even if interspersed with occasional critical remarks for which no substantiation can be offered in this type of publication, satisfies neither the scholar nor the general reader, as Richard Krautheimer has pointed out in a recent review.[1] If we add that

in many of these "editions" statues and even reliefs are photographed from perverse angles and swamped in floodlight, that the plates are drowned in printer's ink and cruelly trimmed according to the fashion of the day, then we have enumerated at least the most important grievances against this type of publication.

It is revealing to see that an Italian publisher can keep his production free of most of these blemishes without fear of losing the interest of a wide reading public. This volume on the façade of the Cathedral of Orvieto contains a long and learned introduction which probably will appeal to the scholar rather than to the general reader, but the following description of the sculptures will satisfy both. The plates cover the entire sculptural decoration of the four pilasters and the statues in bronze and marble placed on the façade. With few exceptions, a separate plate is accorded to every single slab of the pilasters; in numerous cases excellent details of individual figures and heads are given. These illustrations reproduce the photographs of Signor Raffaelli Armoni, the local photographer who brought to his task the loving understanding of an enthusiastic admirer. I have always considered these photographs among the world's best; it is a pity that they have not come out quite so well in the printing as they deserve.

Professor Enzo Carli's introduction starts out with a very fair survey of the theories developed by older writers on the authorship of the two famous drawings for the façade preserved in the Opera del Duomo. Luigi Fumi, to whom we owe the monumental publication of the Cathedral documents,[2] recognized that the drawing with only one pediment must have preceded the one which shows three and undoubtedly presupposes the existence of the earlier plan. Attracted by hardly more valid arguments than the glamour of a great name, Fumi gave the earlier drawing to Arnolfo di Cambio, while he correctly connected the second plan and, again on slim evidence, a large portion of the sculpture with the architect Lorenzo Maitani who was in charge of the building from 1310 to his death in 1330. It was August Schmarsow[3] who pointed out that the earlier drawing was decisively influenced by French cathedral architecture and is, in fact, an ingenious adaptation of the transepts of Notre Dame in Paris. He attributed this plan to Ramo di Paganello who is mentioned in the Cathedral archives in 1293, but appears earlier in Sienese documents as "one of the best sculptors in the world who has recently returned from foreign [*ultramontanis*] parts."

Italian scholars have on the whole been reluctant to accept this very plausible theory. The urge toward hero-worship which has created so many myths, art-historical and otherwise, induced several writers to heap almost everything, the planning, building, and even to a considerable extent the execution of the sculpture, on the shoulders of Lorenzo Maitani. Both drawings were now given to Maitani.

1. Of Goldscheider's *Ghiberti*, *Burlington Magazine*, XCIII, 1951, p. 96.
2. *Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri*, Rome, 1891.

3. "Das Fassadenproblem am Dom von Orvieto," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLVII, 1926, pp. 119ff.

Professor Carli makes a valiant stand against this tendency, asking with a cautious pun "se la gloria del Maitani non fosse tutta Fumi" (poor Fumi, who had not been nearly as radical as his successors!). Carli separates the two drawings, giving the later one, as everybody who ever wrote on the façade problem has done, to Maitani. I have shown elsewhere[4] that the Maitani plan is a compromise between the earlier drawing and Arnolfo di Cambio's plan for the façade of S. Maria del Fiore in Florence and am glad to see that in a postscript Professor Carli accepts this observation as further proof of the entirely different character of the two drawings.

Carli rejects Schmarsow's attribution of the earlier drawing on the ground that Ramo di Paganello is only mentioned as a sculptor. Instead, he proposes, tentatively and somewhat hesitantly, the Fra Bevignate (or Benvegnate) mentioned in 1295 and again in 1300 as *operaio*. But if Ramo is described only as a sculptor, not as an architect, all we know about Fra Bevignate is that in the seventies of the thirteenth century he was well known as an hydraulic engineer. For this reason, Fumi had already assumed that Fra Bevignate might have been responsible for the technical construction of the building but not for the designing of the façade. The terms under which his contract was renewed in 1300 suggest that he exercised the function of an administrator and supervisor rather than that of the leading architect.[5] In one of the reliefs on the fourth pilaster (pl. 59), a man with a square over his shoulder, followed by two younger men, appears among the saints. It is very likely that these three figures, obviously inserted into the relief at a later date, represent the architect Lorenzo Maitani and his two sons and that they were added after Maitani's death in 1330. Before them kneels a praying monk cut from the same slab as the other figures of the relief and the only one who kneels. If the three figures behind him represent the later architects, it is very possible that we have here a portrait of Fra Bevignate in his function as *operaio*. Unfortunately this does not prove that he drew the early plan for the façade of Orvieto. And where should

this Benedictine monk and hydraulic engineer have acquired the intricate knowledge of Notre Dame of Paris which characterizes the drawing as the work not, of course, of a Frenchman, but of an Italian "recently returned from abroad"?

The matter does not end there. As I have pointed out,[6] the drawing shows a seated Madonna in the lunette which is identical in composition with the wooden statue of the seated Madonna and Child in the Opera del Duomo. Drawing and statue are connected beyond this superficial relationship. Both are profoundly influenced by French art, the Madonna not only in the iconographic type which is here imported from France to Italy for the first time, but also in style as is evident in the drapery system, the cutting of eyes and eyebrows, and so forth. Yet both are unquestionably the work of an Italian, in the case of the Madonna, even of a Tuscan master. It would be strange, indeed, if twin masters had worked in Orvieto simultaneously, for both the statue and the drawing can be dated shortly before 1300. One may be sceptical with regard to the name of the artist, but if one accepts the attribution of the statue to Ramo di Paganello, as Professor Carli does, one cannot, in my opinion, withhold that name from the designer of the façade.

It is one of the few gaps in the illustrative material of the book that this wooden group of the *Madonna and Child* is not reproduced. Although not part of the sculptural decoration of the façade, it is of eminent importance for its development. Professor Carli attributes the three lower registers of the two inner pilasters with Messianic prophecies and New Testament stories to this master, i.e., to Ramo di Paganello. Comparing some of these compositions with their prototypes on the pulpits of Giovanni Pisano, he argues that this group of reliefs may have been and probably was completed before 1310 when Lorenzo Maitani took over.[7] To the *terminus post quem* of ca. 1305 supplied for the *Visitation* by this comparison (p. 16) might be added the only *terminus ante* we have been able to find— the year 1316, in or before which Andrea di Jacopo Ognabene copied the same scene on the silver altar

4. "The First Façade of the Cathedral of Florence," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, IV, 1940-41, p. 79 n. 1.

5. In fact, the documents clearly distinguish the office of *operarius* which he held (Fumi, *op.cit.*, p. 177), and which in Pisa, for instance, was purely administrative, from the title of *magister operis* given to the leading architects and sculptors (*ibid.*: "nominamus ipsum fratrem Benvegnatem qui debeat continuo residere in dicto Opere cum magistris ipsius Operis et facere sollicite laborare eosdem").

6. "Eine Madonna von Giovanni Pisano," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LI, 1930, p. 168. I should like to use this opportunity to correct a slight error in Carli's text, p. 16: Schmarsow did not recognize the connection between the wooden group and the Madonna in the drawing. The wooden statue which he attributed to Ramo di Paganello (*op.cit.*, p. 138) is a *standing* Madonna in the Opera del Duomo from the church of S. Lucia (the Child is lost). There can be no doubt that this statue is the work of a French sculptor, as I have pointed out (*op.cit.*, p. 168 n. 2). If it were not so dangerous to draw conclusions from the scanty remarks in the documents, it would be tempting to attribute

this figure to Roland de Bruges, mentioned in 1293 (Fumi, *op.cit.*, p. 309, quoting Della Valle, *Storia del Duomo di Orvieto*, Rome, 1781). The seated Madonna was considered by Schmarsow as the work of a late follower of Ramo, evidently not distant in time from the marble group in the lunette by the sculptors working in 1325 under Lorenzo Maitani (A. Schmarsow, *Italienische Kunst im Zeitalter Dantes*, Augsburg, 1928, pp. 145-147; see also p. 127).

7. In my opinion, this disposes of the later date assigned to the four famous reliefs of the *Annunciation*, *Visitation*, *Nativity*, and *Adoration* on the third pilaster by Geza de Francovich ("Lorenzo Maitani e i bassorilievi della facciata del Duomo di Orvieto," *Bollettino d'Arte*, N. S. VII, 1927-28, pp. 339ff.) who attributes this group to a "fourth collaborator of Maitani." He sees the same master at work in the tomb of Pope Benedict XI in S. Domenico in Perugia. I cannot distinguish here the hand of a master working in Orvieto, although the tomb is related to the group under discussion through its Sienese character. There is no reason why this tomb should not have been executed shortly after the pope's death in 1304. This date indirectly supports an early dating of the Orvieto reliefs.

in Pistoja. One notices that the dates run close to 1310 and, in the second pilaster, where some of the figures are heavier, perhaps even beyond that date.[8]

While the lasting influence of the wooden statue of the Madonna on this whole group is clear, I am not so sure as Professor Carli is that these reliefs are the work of Ramo di Paganello himself. A comparison of the Virgin in the *Adoration* with the wooden group shows surprising differences: for one thing, the French style so prominent in the heads and draperies of the earlier work has disappeared completely. Must we assume that Ramo, if he still was working as a sculptor at Orvieto, had changed his style to this extent? Nor does the master of the second and third pilasters impress one as being easily deflected by outside influences. Though he follows the compositions of Giovanni Pisano, there is not a trace of the Pisan master's style in his work. I find it hard, therefore, to believe that this could be Ramo who has cast off the French elements of his style under the pressure of his Sienese surroundings. It seems safer to see in this great sculptor an ingenious continuator of Ramo's work who is thoroughly Sienese in style.

So far as I can observe, there are in these two pilasters only two figures in which the French influence seen in the wooden group survives: the first two kings, David and Solomon, of the *Tree of Jesse* on the second pilaster.[9] They may well be by the hand of Ramo, done a little earlier than the surrounding figures from which they differ considerably in style; they must, however, have been placed on the façade together with the others, when the first three registers were ready for installation.[10]

The lower parts of the two outside pilasters with the incomparable reliefs illustrating the first chapters of Genesis and the Last Judgment are, according to Professor Carli, the work of Lorenzo Maitani. This has been said many times before; but Dr. Carli gives a new meaning to the statement by making Maitani the pupil of the master of the two inner pilasters. He is led to this conclusion by the observation that this Sienese sculpture outside Siena has little in common with sculpture in Siena itself, though it is, if anything, more

Sienese in character than the work of Tino di Camaino, Gano, or others. The solution to this perplexing problem, it seems, may be found in the fact that the sculptors working at Orvieto were not exposed to the influence of Giovanni Pisano's style. This observation is indeed in favor of Dr. Carli's assumption that the master or masters of the *Genesis* and the *Last Judgment* grew from the school of the leading master of the two inner pilasters. And, in fact, the young King in the *Adoration of the Magi* (pl. 26) might be called the prototype of God in the first scene of the *Creation* (pl. 36). Similarly, the new style appears immediately above the four great reliefs of the third pilaster, particularly in the head of the Virgin in the *Flight into Egypt* (pl. 27), where it is still mixed with elements of the older style. The transition is almost too smooth to allow for the assumption that Maitani, apart from his obligations as the leading architect, began to devote himself to sculpture immediately after his arrival in Orvieto. That would have been possible only if he had taken up the study of sculpture at Orvieto a considerable time before 1310 under the direction of the older master. But the otherwise so effusive document which appoints him *capomaestro* on September 16, 1310, mentions no other previous activity of his in Orvieto save the erection of the buttresses that were to prevent the collapse of transept and apse. For this work he had to come from Siena. In fact, no reference appears from which we may deduce that he was a sculptor.[11] The bronze angels in the central lunette associated with his name were modeled by a whole group of sculptors, as we know from the documents; and so it is quite possible that he assumed little more than the ultimate responsibility for the sculptural work done by this group.

One of these sculptors, who continued the tradition of the older master, now took the lead. The "Hellenistic" character of his style has been emphasized. So far as the classical and Byzantine rock landscape which was just being revived by Duccio is concerned, the beginnings of such an arrangement of the figures within space are already found on the second and third pilasters. What is more surprising is that these devices are used with a full understanding of the relationship be-

8. From a document still existing in Della Valle's time, he concluded (*op.cit.*, p. 263, quoted by Fumi, pp. 3 and 135) that in 1310 Maitani placed Ramo di Paganello at the head of a gang of stonecutters working in the quarries. This may have been a way of getting rid of a rival, as Carli suggests. If that is true, Maitani's character appears in a rather unfavorable light. I feel that if Ramo really had been the master who had just completed the reliefs of the *Youth of Christ*, no intrigue could have brought him to such degradation.

9. Photographers have not been kind to them. They appear, partly cut off by the margin, in the Alinari photo 4949. The *David*, at least, has suffered the same fate in Plates 6-9 of this book which are not among its most successfully printed reproductions.

10. In 1930 ("Eine Madonna von Giovanni Pisano," p. 168 n. 4) I believed that I detected a connection between the heads of these two kings and a head high up in the arch of the left portal of the Cathedral of Siena. I have long since recognized this as an error and H. Keller ("Die Bauplastik des Sieneser Doms," *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Bib-*

liotheca Hertziana, I, 1937) and Dr. Carli (*Sculture del Duomo di Siena*, Turin, 1941, p. 36) have arrived at the same conclusion. Nor can I accept as by Ramo the four busts on the inside of the lateral portals in Siena published by Carli (*ibid.*, pp. 33ff., and figs. 45-50) and now attributed to the master in the book under review, p. 18. They are the work of a Sienese follower of Giovanni P sano and cannot therefore be by the hand of the highly independent master of the wooden group.

11. The document referred to above (Fumi, *op.cit.*, p. 21) says: "Et quod possit etiam discipulos quos voluerit expensis dicte fabrice retinere ad designandum, figurandum et faciendum lapides pro pariete supradicto." This passage cannot, in my opinion, be construed as implying that Maitani brought to Orvieto sculptors who were his pupils (Carli, p. 19). He was given permission to retain certain men who therefore must have been there before him and thus could not very well have been his pupils (why is "suos" missing?) but only those of the workshop which had previously been directed by the older master.

tween neutral background and landscape such as is found on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius and that quotations from Roman monuments related in style to the master's own are not infrequent (the angels on pl. 44, the famous head of one of the *Damned*, pl. 57, which goes back to a Meleager sarcophagus). Compared with these sculptures which run the full gamut from fiery expression to lyrical sentiment, Maitani's drawing for the façade, a compromise between the first drawing and Arnolfo's façade, seems to betray a very different temperament.

But there is no need to quarrel about names since they do not affect the course of the development as it is clearly and, in my opinion, correctly drawn by Professor Carli. This is a most stimulating book, written lucidly and with great fairness to opposing views and, all in all, a worthy tribute to a great cycle of monumental sculpture.

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PAOLA BAROCCHI, *Rosso Fiorentino*, Rome, Gismondi, 1950. Pp. 285; 236 illus.

For the Cinquecento scholar the appearance of a new and richly illustrated monograph on Rosso Fiorentino is a real event. The non-specialist, to whom the most important aspect of any volume on art is the photographs, will gain from Miss Barocchi's book a new insight into Rosso's style. The only existing monograph on the painter was Kusenberg's study which appeared two decades ago,[1] with eighty plates. The present work rejoices in nearly three times that number. Furthermore, instead of the generally black and hazy reproductions of paintings offered by Kusenberg, this book contains an excellent series including many unpublished details. The quality of the reproduction is not always equal to the beauty of the photographs (the drawings, for example, can be better appreciated in Kusenberg's large plates), but despite these defects no previous study has been able to illustrate the paintings of Rosso with anything like this force. The details of his most exalted work, the Volterra *Deposition*, show every head individually. They reveal the quality of Rosso's surface and his astonishingly abstract modeling as never before and allow the observer to penetrate in the faces and glances the disturbed inner life of the painter's fantastic personages. Athough I have known the original of this altarpiece for years, and physically moved the panel during World War II, I am afraid I would not have identified fig. 21, reproducing five Callot-like soldiers in the background, sharp as hornets in their airy landscape.

The author is deeply absorbed in Rosso's style. She devotes herself to the poetic essence of each work, from the poignancy of the Volterra altarpiece to the refined lyricism of the Florentine Madonnas and the sharper

fantasy of the Fontainebleau frescoes, everywhere lightened by the painter's macabre wit. She analyzes Rosso's line and his colorism with care and delicacy. But a kind of aesthetic mysticism seems at times to lead her own literary style to ritualistic elaboration. Certain sentences are so laden with interlocking systems of modifiers that the movement of the thought is arrested. On reaching the end of a sentence the reader sometimes finds difficulty in remembering what the beginning was about. Sentences like this appear on almost every page: "But for the unprecedentedly stretched and hallucinated phantoms of the *Deposition* of Volterra and of the *Daughters of Jethro*, for the refined magnificence of the *Sposalizio* in San Lorenzo and for the unilateral and unitonal anti-Roman polemic of the *Deposition* of Borgo is now substituted a more mature language, which affirms an abstraction not so absolute and extreme, more pointed and at the same time serene, and articulates the linear and luministic conquests of the Aretine drawings and of the saints in the *Transfiguration* into an ample psychological and stylistic scale, modulated on the fundamental notes of abstract beauty and good-humored irony, often intoned in an enchanted detachment."[2] Such phrases reveal a rich understanding of Rosso's art. It is a pity they were not stated with less forbidding density.

The author has "sought to analyze minutely all" the artist's "works, to evaluate them in the figurative environment in which they were born, and to capture their most subtle shadings and meanings, in order to fix and define in the various directions assumed by the aspirations and the stylistic solutions of the painter that coherency and unity of vision which constitute his artistic individuality" (p. 13). Lyrical descriptions of works of art are bound to find themselves in a losing competition with the artist. Nor can they be really accurate. As an example of the impossibility of "defining" an artist's style in words, take this characteristic passage: "[Rosso] is indeed a hallucinated man who uses color masterfully, but accompanies it with a refined linear sensibility; a sometimes impetuous genius, but for the most part extremely self-conscious and reflective" (p. 12). Could such a characterization not apply equally well to Botticelli, to Lorenzo Monaco, to Coppo di Marcovaldo? Or to Matisse?

According to this Pateresque aestheticism, "the artist" tends to become a fiat creation of the author's sensibility. A picture is no longer the product of a human personality, the vehicle of human needs. The circumstances of Rosso's existence are relegated to a two-page biographical note, and no attempt is made to relate them to his style or to his artistic development. Nowhere is a document produced, and seldom is one even mentioned. There is no catalogue, either of paintings or drawings. Remarks on the preservation and repainting of the pictures are categorical but sketchy. In spite of the voluminous critical writing which makes up the bulk of the study, there is no systematic attempt

1. K. Kusenberg, *Le Rosso*, Paris, 1931.

2. This paragraph naturally sounds more clumsy in my literal translation, but the original is labored enough.

to treat the morphology of Rosso's paintings, to analyze the character of his figures, or to determine the principles which govern his vividly original compositions. The painter's surface and brushwork are barely mentioned. I recall no analysis of his most startling stylistic contribution, the approximation to Cubism so emphatic in the Volterra *Deposition*. No attempt is made to show how the drawings are functionally involved in the development of the pictures. While decrying analyses of Rosso's space as "not constituting the poetic reason" (p. 52) of the artist's works, Miss Barocchi never analyzes his space herself.

Nor has Miss Barocchi handled the iconography of Rosso's works, a most fascinating field of study and one which should be fertile for an understanding of the artist's peculiar temperament. The relation of his agonized *Depositions* to earlier (and contemporary) quite different treatments of the subject would have been revealing. Surely the religious background of these works, in the disillusioned Italy of the 1520's, deserved investigation. The famous 1517 drawing of two skeletons among a number of emaciated men is not even recognized as a problem. The especially seductive enigma presented by the Fontainebleau cycle might have received some thought. Kusenberg at least formulated the outlines of the problem, which is being investigated by Mr. William Crelly. Certainly the ideological structure of the cycle could have been clarified through literary and philosophic sources. The immense change in Rosso's style after his arrival in France could perhaps be motivated by such a clarification, and by an understanding of the special character of the French court for which he worked.

Rosso's greatness will be granted by all Cinquecento students. It is not enhanced by condemning the artist's contemporaries, especially the Raphael school for whom the author seems to entertain a particular dislike. Giulio Romano comes in for two pages of denunciation, which contain also some errors. In stating that the decoration of the Palazzo de Te "shows a greater preoccupation with Raphaelesque structures" (than Pierin del Vaga's frescoes in Genoa), the author raises doubts as to the extent of her familiarity with the building itself or with the recent literature concerning it. If there is one thing certain in the decoration of the Palazzo del Te, it is that Giulio was abandoning the harmonious equilibrium of his master in favor of more restless and even dissonant compositional and spatial formulations. These have received considerable analysis in the past few years.[3] The astonishing spatial devices of the Sala dei Cavalli, for instance, more related to Mantegna than to Raphael, impress the author as signs of "compositional incapacity." In the Sala dei Giganti she finds

an "absolute lack of original synthesis." Actually the room is a cycloramic composition, to my knowledge unprecedented save insofar as it is partially foreshadowed by the spatial treatment of Giulio's own wall decorations in the Sala di Psiche. The dynamic conception of the room in terms of a threatening, collapsing space, analyzed by Ernst Gombrich, is so original as to have suggested to Jacob Hess an influence upon Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*.[4]

The statements concerning the connection of Primaticcio with the Palazzo del Te are not particularly illuminating. The origins of Primaticcio are a problem of the utmost obscurity, on which I hope eventually to be able to shed a few rays through an identification of those motives which this artist borrowed directly from Giulio. It will always be difficult to account for Primaticcio's meteoric rise from the modestly paid Messer Francesco Primadizo of the documents, a *stuccatore*, to the Abbé de St. Martin, court artist to the Most Christian King. But when Miss Barocchi refers to the so-called *Triumph of Sigismond* reliefs in the Sala degli Stucchi as "concordamente dati al Primaticcio e G. B. Briziano," she is apparently unaware of the humble role of both artisans, mere executants of the drawings of Giulio, many of which are preserved and some published.[5] Miss Barocchi illustrates the stuccoes on the wall of the Sala del Sole (fig. 72) as the work of Giulio and his school. They are actually copies, done in the late eighteenth century by the pupils of Bottani's Mantuan Academy, from the coffers of the Sala degli Stucchi. Some of the originals appear in Miss Barocchi's fig. 73.

Problems of connoisseurship receive in this volume a long-needed attention. The author has been able to relieve Rosso Fiorentino of responsibility for three mediocre Madonnas (figs. 57-59) and an insipid *John the Baptist* (fig. 60), for the Guicciardini *St. Jerome* (fig. 65), and for the extremely boring *Way to Calvary* in Arezzo (fig. 68). She accepts Voss's attribution of the Pitti *Three Fates* to Salviati; while I agree that the painting cannot be by Rosso, I am not convinced that the last word has been said with regard to its authorship.[6] The late Cinquecento in Florence is still a kind of No Man's Land in which some of the major personalities have not yet revealed their contours.

Two attributions deserve special notice. It is significant that both concern portraits, which of all categories in painting are notoriously the most elusive to ascribe. Both are pictures of youths, one in Naples (fig. 37)[7] which the author gives to Rosso, one in Berlin (fig. 66) which she takes away. In the case of the extremely interesting though badly damaged Naples portrait, Miss Barocchi follows the attribution first advanced by

3. Ernst Gombrich, "Zum Werke Giulio Romanos," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, New Series, VIII, 1934, pp. 79ff., and IX, 1935, pp. 121ff.; Hartt, "Gonzaga Symbols in the Palazzo del Te," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIII, 1951, pp. 151ff.

4. "On Raphael and Giulio Romano," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, XXXI, 1947, pp. 73ff.

5. Hermann Dollmayr, "Raffaels Werkstätte," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistor. Sammlungen ... Wien*, XVI, 1895, pp. 231ff.;

Stix and Froehlich-Bum, *Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der Albertina*, Vienna, 1938, no. 98. Louis Dimier, *Le Primatice*, Paris, 1928, did not touch the problem and was apparently unaware of the drawings or of the payment records in which Primaticcio's name is mentioned.

6. Nor am I persuaded by Zeri's attribution of the painting to Jacopino del Conte (*Proporzioni*, II, 1948).

7. Pp. 55ff., with bibliography, for previous attributions to Rosso.

Longhi, accepted by Becherucci and Quintavalle, and tentatively by Freedberg.[8] The traditional ascription of the painting to Parmigianino is clearly untenable. My own concurrence in the Rosso attribution is hampered by the fact that I have not seen the original since before World War II. Rosso's tendency to square off the features by means of a strong side light is certainly present, and the head reminds one of the attentive frigidity so arresting in the main personages of Rosso's larger Florentine paintings, especially the St. Dominic in the *Marriage of the Virgin*. The bold handling of drapery masses in curves flaring bell-like away from the figure is typical of Rosso in his earlier work, especially the *Assumption* in the Sma. Annunziata. I was once tempted to look for a North Italian origin for this portrait on account of the table covered with a Persian rug in the foreground, a standard device of Sebastiano's. But this element in the Naples picture is not merely left in the foreground to establish an intimate setting (as Sebastiano does in his portrait of Cardinal Ferrondelet, the Roman lady in Barcelona, and the Giulia Gonzaga).[9] It is used more imaginatively; indeed, the coat reaches forward to embrace the rug-covered table in such a manner as to incorporate it enigmatically into the very structure of the figure.

The Berlin portrait was first attributed to Rosso by Claude Phillips, who suggested ingeniously that it might be a self-portrait on account of the mass of rich red hair. In recent criticism the attribution has been accepted only by Becherucci. One can readily understand Miss Barocchi's reasons for reasserting the traditional ascription of the painting to Franciabigio. It has the usual early Cinquecento Florentine background of feathery trees and distant villages. But she has not noticed the striking similarity in the treatment of the left hand in both this and the Naples portrait, the back of the hand cut into little pouches into which the fingers dovetail strangely.[10] Moreover, in both paintings the left arm is compressed and distorted in the same almost mediaeval manner.

Although the Louvre youth and the Berlin young man writing, by Franciabigio, distill what Becherucci calls a "romantica malinconia," they are both relaxed. The subject rests his arms on a table or a lectern in all of Franciabigio's portraits, never in a tense and unsupported pose like that of the picture we are considering. Franciabigio's subjects are at least respectable, with none of the sullenness of our young neurotic, whose female counterpart is the little minx (as St. Catherine?) in the Uffizi (fig. 2). In both pictures Rosso gets the most out of a stray lock, in the way of expressive disorder. In both, the feathery trees are painted in the same daft manner, a satire on conventional Florentine portraits deriving from the Raphael Doni pictures. While Franciabigio's heads and hats

harmonize or contrast gracefully with the background, our young man's pancake headgear is tied to the horizontal lines of clouds and trees . . . a typical Rosso practical joke. The picture betrays Rosso's peculiar mentality, and I believe the Phillips-Becherucci attribution should be maintained.

As for the *Man with a Helmet* (fig. 236) in the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool, inserted just before the book went to press, the recently discovered inscription "Rubeus Faciebat" seems convincing. But it is impossible to glean anything positive from the blurred photograph. To the brief list of Rosso portraits should be added the portrait of a young man in the Kress Collection,[11] whose unstable emotionality and characteristic pose of arms and hands are in keeping with both the Berlin and the Naples portraits.

Although the absence of a systematic catalogue of drawings is unfortunate, Miss Barocchi has done a great service in her critical reappraisal of catalogues by Berenson and by Kusenberg. In most cases I think she was correct in the drawings she excised from the list of Rosso's work, but in a number of instances I disagree with her final attributions of these sheets. Here and there I think she could have gone even further in pruning the master's graphic *oeuvre*, and once I believe she removed from the list one of Rosso's most interesting drawings. Before listing some disagreements under the author's figure numbers, I should make clear that in many cases I am judging from reproductions, with consequent limitations on the validity of my ascriptions. I will not repeat the author's bibliographical indications.

Fig. 188, text p. 210, Uffizi, 479: This drawing of a *Madonna with Saints* the author dates after Rosso's departure from Rome in 1527. The work seems identical in style with the early Florentine drawings, especially figs. 167, 168, 170, closely bound up with the Villamagna, S. Lorenzo, Dei (Pitti), and Santa Maria Nuova (Uffizi) altarpieces, and even with the Volterra *Deposition*. This sheet is apparently a work of Rosso's Florentine period, before 1523.

Text p. 207, Albertina, Inv. 104 R. II: For the dead Christ of the Borgo *Deposition*. This great drawing (Kusenberg, pl. xxiv) is here referred to as "insignificant." It is of a quality which renders its traditional attribution to Michelangelo far from grotesque and should have been reproduced.

Text p. 224, Milan, Museo Civico: This *Holy Family* is one of the most fantastic and charming of all of Rosso's wash sketches, and I believe Miss Barocchi is mistaken in rejecting it. The drawing was engraved as Rosso by Boyvin, and retains elements of Rosso's early cubistic style, particularly in the scoop-shaped face of the Virgin, strangely prefiguring the Negro masks imitated by Picasso around 1908, but the darks and lights are fluid enough to bring the work close to the ragged style of Rosso's French drawings, especially the

8. Sydney J. Freedberg, *Parmigianino, His Works in Painting*, Cambridge, 1950, p. 230, lists the traditional ascriptions to Parmigianino.

9. Luitpold Dussler, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, Basel, 1942, pls. 26, 51, and 62.

10. This similarity was pointed out to me by my colleague, Mr. J. Edward Kidder, Jr.

11. William E. Suida, *Paintings and Sculpture from the Kress Collection*, Washington, 1951, pp. 130-131.

wonderful *Pandora's Box* in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (fig. 192). The line, which Miss Barocchi finds so "indeciso," is in no way dissimilar to the tremulous contours of this drawing and of the *Vertumnus and Pomona* in the Louvre (fig. 191).

Fig. 211, text p. 222, Louvre, 704: Miss Barocchi has justly rejected this sheet as Rosso. When she restores it to Michelangelo, to whom it had originally been given by Brinckmann, Venturi, Steinmann, and Berenson, I must disagree with her. The recto, three men carrying the corpse of a fourth, is dated by Berenson around the time of the *Battle of Cascina*. The verso, a *Madonna and Child with St. John*, he places inexplicably about 1520. I can see no reason for such a gap. Both sides appear identical in date and style. The style is that of Sebastiano del Piombo. In both we find the double *pentimenti* of principal contours, the puckered ankles, the claw-like feet, that amount to a Sebastiano signature. The verso is strikingly similar in treatment to the beautiful Windsor drawing of the *Holy Family*,[12] but the recto illustrated by Miss Barocchi is close in every draughtsmanly detail to the British Museum drawings for the *Raising of Lazarus*.[13] The same strokes, the same distances between parallel contours, the same way of tipping attendant heads forward and indicating the eye by a single wedge of black, the same play of thick shadows, the same hook-like bite into the calf just above the Achilles tendon, the same tendency toward a stringy disintegration of contours in portions where the mass is less emphasized.[14]

Fig. 171, text p. 202, Uffizi, 6755: A model drawing of a languorous youth in which the pangs of Pontormo are softened to nostalgia. This is probably by Andrea Boscoli, one of the most poignant lyricists of the later Cinquecento, scores of whose drawings remain unpublished and often unphotographed in the Uffizi. The identical style and mood may be found in the *Supper at Emmaus* at Windsor.[15]

This life study appears to be the figure of David in the north lunette of the retrochoir of San Matteo in Pisa. The pose of the leg has been changed in the painting, but that of the arm maintained—held in position by a rope ring through which the wrist hangs.

Fig. 172, text p. 200, Louvre, 989; fig. 173, text p. 200, Uffizi, Santarelli 44; fig. 198, text p. 218, Uffizi, 6482; fig. 200, text p. 218, Uffizi, 1211 E; fig. 221, text p. 225, Uffizi, 6471: Miss Barocchi is

certainly correct in taking figs. 198, 200, and 221 away from Rosso. But fig. 198, four personages in mysterious colloquy, she gives to Bacchiacca, although it seems to be by the same hand as fig. 173, which she retains as Rosso. Both display the same peculiar rounding of the legs, the same large, sack-like cloaks, the same general atmosphere of a den of thieves. Mr. Philip Pouncey has suggested to me that some of the drawings Miss Barocchi illustrates are by Polidoro da Caravaggio, and these two are remarkably similar in style and mood to the *Scene of Worship* in Windsor.[16] To this same group belong two more fine chalk drawings, both in the Uffizi, figs. 200 and 221. The first of these, a woman seated in profile and apparently reading, is far stronger and more impulsive than the nervous and vacillating Bacchiacca drawing the author again adduces for comparison. The long, pointed nose and the curious downward twist of the eyebrow can be exactly matched in Polidoro's work. The shading and drapery treatment are identical with the Windsor sketch. But this drawing automatically carries with it fig. 221, attributed by the author only to an "Anonimo," and representing a young mother kissing her child, who hugs her passionately. The long, taut curves of the drapery folds and the character of their shading amount to identity. This is a magnificent drawing, full of emotional fervor, and of splendid ornamental construction.

The style of Polidoro is also encountered in a drawing universally accepted and reproduced as Rosso, the Louvre sheet (fig. 172) representing four women and an aged, bearded man in postures as enigmatic as we would expect from Polidoro. Actually the drawing shows no more of Rosso than superficial similarity of types, and is devoid of Rosso's special quality as a draughtsman—the unexpected interplay of luminous planes. The group of five drawings appears consistent in all essential respects. In all five there is the same heavy proportion of solids to voids, the same tension in the solids, the same impermeability in the voids, the same tendency of the figures to conform to the foreground plane, the same angle of shading when not cross-hatched, the same tendency toward vulgarity in the physical types, the same impulsive poses and gestures, the same powerful, ornamental drapery motives, consisting of speedy, figure-of-eight curves with abrupt, triangular closes. These principles are to be found in

12. A. E. Popham and Johannes Wilde, *Italian Drawings at Windsor Castle*, London, 1949, no. 923, fig. 80. In spite of a few possible errors in individual attributions, this admirable work is a lodestar to the investigator in the still largely uncharted sea of later Cinquecento drawings.

13. Dussler, *op.cit.*, figs. 99 and 100.

14. In this entire group of drawings attributable to Sebastiano, the superficial qualities of Michelangelo's mysterious graphic style are imitated, but the grandeur and elevation of Michelangelo's emotion are replaced by the vapidity so disturbing in Sebastiano's affective life—which indeed ruins so many of his more ambitious compositions. A key drawing in this respect is the *Madonna and Child with St. John* at Windsor Castle (Popham and Wilde, *op.cit.*, no. 426, pl. 26), given to Sebastiano with the utmost justice by all modern scholars save Thode. It is impossible to agree with Dr. Wilde's

attribution of this drawing to Michelangelo (advanced without explanation), and difficult to see how he could have published it in the same catalogue as the previously mentioned no. 923 without noticing the proximity in style. This is striking when one compares these with other Sebastiano drawings, especially Berenson, *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, 2d ed., Chicago, 1938, no. 2501, fig. 755.

15. Mr. Pouncey does not accept this attribution. There is of course a strong difference between these drawings and the more familiar wash style in such examples as Popham, *op.cit.*, no. 141, fig. 39; or Leporini, *Die Stilentwicklung der Handzeichnung*, Vienna-Leipzig, 1925, no. 162; or Voss, *Zeichnungen der italienischen Spätrenaissance*, Munich, 1928, pl. 29.

16. Popham, *op.cit.*, no. 693B, pl. 69. Mr. Pouncey actually agrees only with the attributions of nos. 198 and 200 to Polidoro.

Polidoro's drawings in other media than chalk[17] and in his paintings.

Fig. 204, text p. 221, Uffizi, 14610: In the case of this very strange red-chalk drawing, *Rebecca and Eleazar at the Well*, Miss Barocchi, disagreeing with Becherucci, revives the Salviati attribution of Kusenberg and Berenson. Our present knowledge of late Cinquecento draughtsmanship in Florence does not permit any extended flights of attribution, but I feel certain that this artist is below the level of Salviati. He seems to be one of the more mediocre figures surrounding Vasari in the 1570's. As a possibility, I should suggest Giovanni Fedini, painter of *Belshazzar's Feast* in the Studiolo, whose morphology is not dissimilar from that of our drawing.

The book closes with a broadside attack on the theory of Mannerism and on the classification of Rosso as a Mannerist.[18] To many of us, brought up on the notion that Rosso is the archetype and model of all Mannerists, the vehemence of Miss Barocchi's denial will come as a surprise. Yet her objections contain a core of reality, and much is to be gained from a sympathetic hearing. The author's guns are trained on the concept of Mannerism as a specific historical period with a style of its own, in contradistinction to the preceding High Renaissance and the subsequent Baroque. Her objections are made even clearer in a recent review of Professor Freedberg's *Parmigianino*.[19] While the catalogue of Parmigianino's paintings is a model of what this kind of thing should be, the theoretical portion of Freedberg's book suffers, as Miss Barocchi claims, from some rigidity in its classifications. Art historians frequently experience the temptation to interpret specific works according to *a priori* categories, and Miss Barocchi's point is rightly taken if limited to a warning against this danger. She objects on two further grounds: that there is no agreement between individual scholars on the nature of Mannerism, and that none of the definitions offered can possibly apply to all the artists forced to assemble on the "teatrino manieristico."

It is true that the definitions of Mannerism offered since the term was first used as one of condemnation by Wölfflin are hard to reconcile with each other. And the author is correct in pointing out that "nothing truly in common can link Daniele da Volterra, Pellegrino Tibaldi or Giorgio Vasari with Rosso, Beccafumi or Parmigianino." I once devoted a public lecture to a demonstration of what I believed were the essentials of Mannerism, only to have a distinguished colleague object, quite rightly, that I had still not defined it. But can any historical style, understood in so broad a sense, be defined? Would it be possible to formulate a defini-

tion of the Renaissance, for example, sufficiently elastic to include Masaccio, Perugino, and Tura? Or even a definition of late Quattrocento style in Florence alone which could account for Ghirlandaio, Botticelli, and Piero di Cosimo? Perhaps the basic truth raised by Miss Barocchi's protest is that period denominations are invariably misnomers (Romanesque, Gothic, Baroque), convenient as a concession to human frailty—because names seem to be unavoidable—but meaningless as concepts. The effort to extract from them general principles applicable to all the contradictory phenomena which occur within any period might well, by now, be abandoned.

The author admits that the term "Mannerist" is applicable to the masters of the second half of the Cinquecento in Central Italy, the era of rising academies, crystallizing theory, and standardized practice.[20] Unfortunately the word has so long been applied as well to the geniuses of around 1520 that any attempt to uproot it at this late stage is somewhat quixotic. And even if, as Miss Barocchi insists we must, we were to separate the later academic Mannerists from the lambent spirits of the 1520's—Pontormo, Rosso, Parmigianino, Beccafumi—it is clear that despite all individual differences something essential binds together what the author calls these "forti personalità poetiche." We would only be under the necessity of inventing still another period name.

What this link must be is a community of outlook rather than a bond of style. Such a link was first suggested in Professor Friedlaender's basic study, published a quarter of a century ago, but announced in lecture form in 1914.[21] Friedlaender coined the term "anti-classical" in preference to "Mannerist" as a name for the newly discovered style, since it is most sharply distinguished by what he characterized as a revolt against High Renaissance ideals of beauty, harmony, and rationality. He proceeded to an exact discernment of the personalities of the first Mannerist painters, including Rosso, at many points more acute than Miss Barocchi's much longer account. The new colorism of Rosso, for example, is more succinctly stated by Friedlaender, who also analyzes the cubistic tendency in Rosso ignored in the present volume.

Friedlaender's suggestion that the stylistic revolution might have a basis in contemporary collective spiritual experience was amplified by Pevsner,[22] developing the concept of Mannerism as a psychological crisis for which he attempted to find sociological roots. Whether or not his specific steps turn out to be correct, I am convinced that Pevsner's direction will be the fruitful path for historiography to follow. And I consider it ex-

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17. E.g., the *Betrayal* at Windsor, *ibid.*, no. 692, pl. 70.

18. Pp. 231-240; the chapter is entitled "Divagazione Manieristica."

19. *Commentari*, I, 1950, pp. 263ff.

20. I think Miss Barocchi is unnecessarily severe on this later generation, who cannot be completely summed up by general terms of opprobrium. Salviati is a gifted artist, and boring as the large altarpieces of Vasari and his pupils may be, they were decorators of brilliant fantasy and great poetic charm. Among Vasari's followers some figures will reward sympathetic study

—Cavallori, Machietti, Poppi, Naldini, Maso da San Friano, to mention only a few. Side by side with its academic pomposity, the Vasari school possesses a remarkable current of fancy, imagination, and magic.

21. "Die Entstehung des antiklassischen Stiles in der italienischen Malerei um 1520," in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLVI, 1925, pp. 70ff.

22. "Gegenreform und Manierismus," *ibid.*, pp. 243ff.; *Die italienische Malerei vom Ende der Renaissance . . . (Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft)*, Potsdam, 1928, pp. 3-104.

tremely significant that Miss Barocchi, while denying that Rosso is a Mannerist, has characterized his style in phrases perfectly in keeping with the notion of a profound crisis in artistic behavior. Out of countless examples, take the following: Rosso as "hallucinated" (p. 12 et passim), his "stylistic torment" (p. 35), his "fantastic world" (p. 36), the "profound disturbance, the howling disquiet" of the Volterra *Deposition* (p. 37), its "perplexed solutions" (p. 36), the "coloristic preciosity" of the Dei altar (p. 44), the "absolute abstraction" of the Naples portrait, through which the artist achieves "a dynamic vibration, an hallucinatedly indeterminate image" (p. 56), or finally Rosso's "accentuated, fantastic anti-conventionality" (p. 199), his "unquiet research and constant anti-naturalism" (p. 234). There is no conflict between the idea of Rosso revealed by such characterizations and the concepts established by Friedlaender.

It is as yet inexplicable that the crisis we refer to as Mannerism did not affect Venetian artists in the early Cinquecento, with the exception of certain traits in the work of Lotto; that Raphael in Rome and a little later Correggio in Parma developed a long recognized proto-Baroque style side by side with the beginnings of Mannerism in Giulio Romano and Parmigianino respectively; that even in Florence Andrea del Sarto persists in his classic style, serene in the midst of the tumult. While the fever affects some and not others (Correggio eventually succumbed to a limited extent in his very latest works), the critical phase is over in a few years. By 1530, when Rosso goes to France and Charles V is crowned in Bologna, the second, frigid phase has begun, represented chiefly by the late style of Parmigianino and by Bronzino. And even in the later work of Rosso in France and Pontormo in Florence the extreme emotionalism of the critical phase has been replaced by a fascination with endless figural interlace. One might distinguish a third or academic phase, very populous indeed, from the middle of the century on until it is swept out of existence by the eclecticism of the Bolognese and the realism of Caravaggio.

Once wide historical diversity is admitted within the period conventionally designated as Mannerism, it becomes possible at least to deduce a line of development. But however this development is eventually stated, I cannot believe it will prove to be consistent, necessary, or logical. The late, revered Professor Focillon intimated that forms might have an independent life of their own. Briganti maintains "the impossibility of a relation of cause and effect between an artistic fact and a non-artistic one"[23] and Miss Barocchi, in keeping with her aestheticism, agrees. Yet under the conviction that,

in the last analysis, form and symbol are one,[24] I have recently attempted to demonstrate some crucial cases in which I believe the relation between historical situations and stylistic change to be directly traceable in this all-important first third of the Cinquecento.[25] We may now read Professor Meiss's exhaustive and exact demonstration of the effect of an historical cataclysm on the anti-classical phase which he has distinguished in the painting of the later Trecento.[26]

The striking similarities Meiss points out between this period, represented by such artists as Orcagna, his brothers, by Giovanni del Biondo and Barna da Siena, and the critical phase of Mannerism, prompt reflections on whether a style of willful tensions, deliberate disharmonies, is not a spontaneous reaction of Italian art to an unbearable situation in Italian life. It has often been noted that the late phase of Botticelli and of Filippino foreshadows Mannerism; it should not be forgotten that their feverish style parallels the pathological situation centered around the person and the activities of Savonarola. The proto-Mannerism of the late Quattrocento is quickly submerged in the new world of harmony created by Fra Bartolommeo and the young Raphael, and swept aside altogether by the heroic action of the *Battle of Cascina* and the *Battle of Anghiari*, not to speak of the defiant affirmation of Michelangelo's *David*. These last are specifically bound up with the ideals of Soderini's embattled republic.

I do not think it excessive to note a relation between the international Mannerism of 1590 (Antal) and the international Gothic of 1400, both artificial, both linear, both planimetric, nor between the tremendous personalities of Caravaggio and of Masaccio who put an end to these movements. Without attempting to evaluate the historical forces involved, I would like to suggest a parallel with Giotto's calm revolt against the artificial, linear, planimetric late Byzantine style. The personality of Cimabue, always tense, sometimes violently explosive, exhibits strong similarities to those of the first-generation Mannerists. Pontormo's Santa Anna in Verzaia altarpiece, in the Louvre, could well be set alongside the Santa Trinita *Madonna* of Cimabue, in terms of vertical overlapping of figures, unstable supporting systems, fantastic contrasts in scale, conflicting notions of illusion. And in some stylistic respects, as well as in their common interest in anguish, the Volterra *Deposition* by Rosso parallels the San Gimignano cross by Coppo di Marcovaldo. If such ideas have a basis in fact, Meiss has pointed out to us the method we must employ to find it.

In spite of remediable difficulties of style, Miss Barocchi's book is an earnest tribute to a great painter. If

23. Giuliano Briganti, *Il Manierismo e Pellegrino Tibaldi*, Rome, 1945, p. 47.

24. The reality and significance of their connection is demonstrated by the fact that such an instrument as the Rorschach Test is clinically useful.

25. Cf. my previously cited study on the Palazzo del Te; also "Lignum Vitae in Medio Paradisi," ART BULLETIN, XXXII, 1950, pp. 115-145, 181-218; "The Meaning of Michelangelo's Medici Chapel," *Festschrift für Georg Swarzenski*, Berlin, 1951.

26. *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*, Princeton, 1951. This brilliant work is certainly one of the most successful attempts ever made to isolate the historical bases of an artistic development. A less convincing treatment of the relations between art and society in the Renaissance is to be found in Arnold Hauser's ambitious *The Social History of Art*, New York, 1951. For bibliography on Antal's narrowly Marxist interpretation of fourteenth century painting, see Meiss, *op.cit.*, p. 174.

the volume raises more problems than it solves, that can scarcely be considered a defect.

FREDERICK HARTT
Washington University

HENRY WILDER FOOTE, *John Smibert, Painter, with a Descriptive Catalogue of Portraits and Notes on the Work of Nathaniel Smibert*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1950. Pp. vii + 292; 10 illus. $6.00.

"Westward the course of empire takes its way" is the hidden theme which runs through this thorough study of the life and works of John Smibert, painter. As this quotation from Bishop Berkeley's "Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America" indicates, it is an account of the transplantation of the European pictorial tradition, by way of the then artistically inarticulate Britain, to the forbidding shores and stony soil of New England. In this process the Church and institutions of higher learning acted as the supporting props for the tender, transported plant. This dual combination has persisted.

Smibert was a Scot coach painter (in which craft mediaeval practices were long preserved), who had the unusual advantage of three years of study in Italy; he knew and studied many of the then most admired masterpieces of the Renaissance; he made careful copies of some. He settled in London in 1720. In that year George Berkeley, D.D., Dean of Derry (Ireland) and a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, also returned to England from an Italian sojourn. Smibert, who was nine years the senior of Hogarth and influenced by the dull workshop productions of Kneller, set up as a portrait painter. In the course of events he met the persuasive, idealistic Dean and was induced to embark upon the former's plan for the establishment of a college in the Bermudas for the instruction of both the children of planters and young American Indians. This pious project was sponsored by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The portrait painter's position was to be that of drawing master. The party set sail for America in September 1728 and landed at Newport, Rhode Island. Early in 1729, Smibert painted his large and justly celebrated *Dean Berkeley and His Entourage*, the "Bermuda Group," as Dr. Foote properly calls it—for as such it was known in Smibert's time. This ambitious work, which includes the painter's self-portrait, was destined to have a considerable influence upon the pictorial art of the New England Colonies.

Berkeley waited, in vain, for the arrival of the funds promised by the Government for the establishment of the island college and returned, disappointedly, to England. "Whitehall," his Newport home, he gave to Yale College. He established there certain scholarships which still survive, and became, also, a benefactor of Harvard College. Smibert stayed in America. His position as "the first professional artist with any such reputation to settle in the Colonies" was the result of his travels in Italy and his association with philosopher-theologian Berkeley. Late in 1729, he left Newport and established himself at Boston. "In the course of the winter ... 1729/30 Smibert held an exhibition at which not only ... [the portraits which he had painted since his arrival] were shown, but also the copies of pictures which he had made in Italy and brought with him to America. ..." Dr. Foote continues: "In his exhibition in 1730, and in the display of his collection in his painting room, Smibert gave the provincial Bostonians, and the occasional visitors from other colonies, their earliest introduction, even though at second hand, to the great paintings of the Old World," which makes the date one of considerable importance in the history of the art museum in America. The emigrant Scot married, settled down, and painted Boston's best.

"At that period ... [Smibert was] unquestionably ... the best-trained and most skilful painter who had ever come to the Colonies. ..." Unhappily the quality of his painting fell off. It went steadily down hill from the "Bermuda Group" until his death. There was no rivalry from other artists and anything "went" with his uninformed provincial clients. Competition and criticism were the necessary ingredients lacking on the rocky coasts of New England. His imaginative and somewhat pompous works are, Dr. Foote justly concludes, "of more value as Colonial documents in our cultural history than for any intrinsic merits as works of art." The transplanted artist's vogue did not continue throughout his life. His one pupil was his son, Nathaniel, whose life and works, numbering but fourteen, are included in the volume.

It was not Smibert's immediate but posthumous influence that was important. "His house for nearly half a century [after his death] remained the most notable art center in the Colonies ... and its contents [the copies after the Old Masters] stimulated the imagination of the budding painters who visited it. Copley from his youth was familiar with its contents ... Charles Willson Peale ... John Trumbull [who, as a young student, rented rooms in Smibert's former residence] ... Washington Allston ... [and] John Johnston ... the last occupant of the studio. ..." Foote concludes by aptly quoting Oskar Hagen that "in everything but name, Smibert's house was the first British academy in New England or, for that matter, anywhere in the Colonies."

It was in 1930 that the author's monumental volume on the life and work of the Colonial painter, Robert Feke, appeared. The book under review, published just twenty years later, has been "aged in wood"—its contents are ripe, rich, and full-bodied. It is thorough, painstaking, and comprehensive; it betrays the joy of search and is not lacking in scholastic enthusiasm. It is one of that choice company of monumental monographs (not in bulk but in quality), now happily making their appearance, which will form the solid base of the future history of American painting.

The book falls into three parts, the first having to do

with the known facts surrounding the artist's life in the Old and New Worlds; the second, a record of the work produced on both sides of the Atlantic; and the third, a brief notice, already alluded to, of the life and work of his son, Nathaniel Smibert. The individual works of the artist are treated as exhaustively as the life; every pertinent scrap of information is set down in an orderly manner. The lists are divided into five sections. Under "Extant Portraits," one hundred and eighteen are described. This is followed by a list of nineteen subjects entitled "Portraits Destroyed or Not Located." There follows a section entitled "Portraits of Questionable Attribution," containing twenty-five items. Smibert's copies after the Old Masters, ten in oil and three drawings, follow. The last section lists seventeen "certain other portraits" to which, through ignorance or fraud, the name of Smibert has been attached "in the course of a period which began as early as 1917 and ran into the nineteen-thirties." Dr. Foote's listings are as complete as can be made two centuries after the artist's death.

For the placing of the portraits in their several categories, the author is indebted to John Marshall Phillips, Director of the Yale University Art Gallery, who arranged an exhibition at New Haven, entitled "The Smibert Tradition," in October and November 1949 (just before the book went to press). Thirty-seven genuine, documented, doubtful, and fraudulent portraits were shown under conditions ideal for making comparisons. Postponed posthumous justice was rendered to the painter. It was the largest assemblage of Smibert's work since the Boston exhibition of 1730.

Smibert, the protégé of Bishop Berkeley, benefactor of both Harvard and Yale, has become known to us by another distinguished minister of the Gospel, the author of this volume.

THEODORE SIZER
Yale University

TO THE EDITOR

SIR:

Can any of your readers aid me in locating the works of Thomas D. Jones (1812-1882)?

From his studios in Cincinnati (1841 to about 1850), New York (for six years), and Columbus, Ohio (during his last years) Jones produced about sixty sculptures (including stone, bronze, and wood), mainly of national figures such as Lincoln, Seward, Chase, Breckinridge, Thomas Ewing, John Coleman, William Henry Harrison, Clay, Francis Marion, Lewis Cass, Thomas Corwin, Winfield Scott, Daniel Webster, Washington, and Queen Victoria.

Since a complete catalogue has never been compiled, I should appreciate very much receiving any clues as to the present location and ownership of any work executed by Jones.

ROBERT PRICE
Otterbein College
Westerville, Ohio

ERRATUM: In the note, "Pagnini, Vigerio, and the Sistine Ceiling: A Reply," by Frederick Hartt, which appeared in the December 1951 issue of the ART BULLETIN, the following correction should be made: page 264, 2nd col., ll. 18f., *for* "where the cornerstone is prefigured by him" *read* "where this same cornerstone is prefigured."

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

ALAZARD, JEAN, *L'art italien au XVe siècle*, Paris, H. Laurens, 1951. Pp. 250; 31 ills.; 112 pls.

BARR, ALFRED H., JR., *Matisse, His Art and His Public*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1951. Pp. 592; 275 pls. $12.50.

Bibliography of the History of British Art, V, 1938-1945, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1951. Pp. 693. $7.00.

The Dada Painters and Poets, An Anthology, edited by Robert Motherwell (The Documents of Modern Art, VIII), New York, Wittenborn, Schultz, Inc., 1951. Pp. 388; ill. $15.00.

DINSMOOR, WILLIAM BELL, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (revised and enlarged ed., based on the first part of *The Architecture of Greece and Rome* by Anderson and Spiers), New York, B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1951. Pp. 424; 125 ills.; 71 pls. $6.75.

Early Medieval Illumination, introduction by Hanns Swarzenski, New York, Oxford University Press, 1951. 21 color pls. $6.00.

EBERSOLT, JEAN, *Constantinople: recueil d'études d'archéologie et d'histoire*, preface by A. Grabar, Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1951. Pp. 130; ill. $5.59.

French Painting, 1100-1900, Exhibition Catalogue, Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute, 1951. Pp. 12; 172 pls. $2.50.

GAYA NUÑO, J. A., *El Escorial* (Los monumentos cardinales de España, 1), Madrid, Editorial Plus Ultra, 1951. Pp. 150; ill. 90 pesetas.

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MAURER, EMIL, *Jacob Burckhardt und Rubens* (Basler Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, VII), Basel, Verlag Birkhauser, 1951. Pp. 290. 12.50 Swiss francs.

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WEISBACH, WERNER, *Vincent Van Gogh, Kunst und Schicksal*, Basel, Amerbach Verlag, 1949 (Vol. I), and Benno Schwabe Co., 1951 (Vol. II). 2 vols.; pp. 444; 142 ills. 43 Swiss francs.

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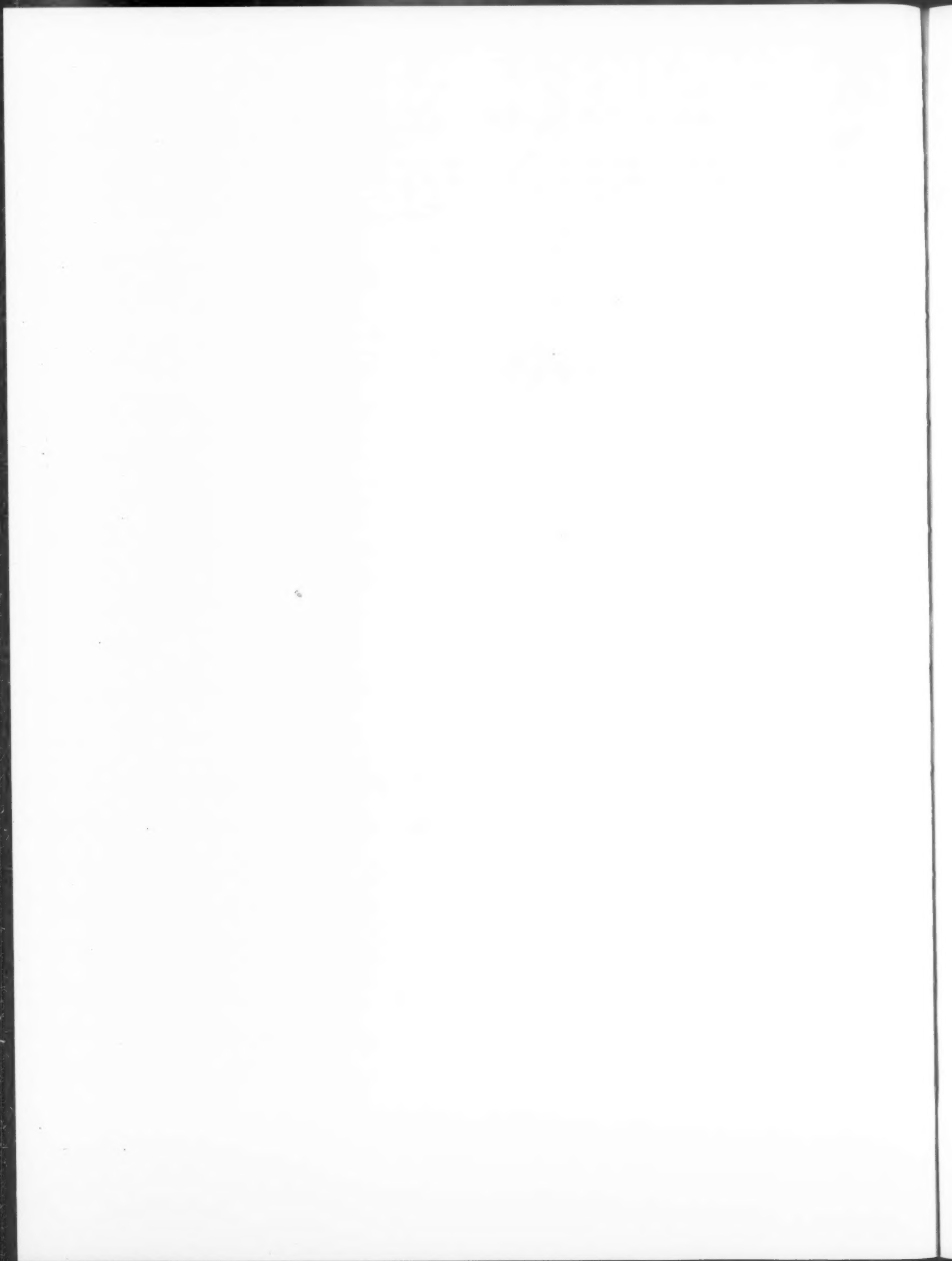
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14. In the case of books cited, the form of reference should be as follows: (1) author's name, preceded by his given name or initials, and followed by a comma; (2) title, italicized, followed by a comma; (3) the edition where necessary, followed by a comma; (4) place of publication, followed by a comma; (5) if desired, the name of publisher, followed by a comma; (6) date of publication, followed by a comma; (7) reference to volume in small roman numerals without preceding "Vol." or "V." and followed by a comma; (8) page or column number, preceded by "p.," "pp." or "col.," "cols." Thus:

Mary H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929, p. 60.
Charles Diehl, *Manual d'art byzantin*, 2nd ed., Paris, Librairie Auguste Picard, 1925, II, pp. 73-78.

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